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Social Identity and Self-Esteem among Mainland  
Chinese, Hong Kong Chinese, British born  
Chinese and White Scottish Children

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PhD  
The University of Edinburgh  
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## **DECLARATION**

I declare that this thesis has been written by me. This work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Dai Qian

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## **ABSTRACT OF THESIS**

The Chinese community is the fastest growing non-European ethnic group in the UK, with 11.2% annual growth between 2001 and 2007. According to the National Statistics office (2005), there are over a quarter of a million Chinese in Britain. Compared to other ethnic minority groups, the Chinese group is socioeconomically widespread, characterized by high academic achievements and high household income. It is estimated that there are about 30,000 Chinese immigrant children studying in British schools, 75% of who were born in the UK. These children face a complex process of establishing their social identity, maintaining their own cultural roots whilst adapting to the British cultural contexts.

The predominant psychological interpretation of social identity formation is founded on Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1978). Social identity creates and defines an individual's place in society. One of the key features in social identity theory is in-group favouritism and out-group derogation (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The function and motivation for in-group and out-group attitude construction is to promoting a positive self-concept and related self-esteem. Theoretical approaches to understanding social identity that take a developmental perspective are Cognitive Development Theory (CDT) (Aboud, 1988, 2008) and Social Identity Developmental Theory (SIDT) (Nesdale, 2004, 2008). These theories attempt to explain the age related development in children's inter- and intra-group attitudes. There are different types of social identities, and ethnic identity as well as national identity are the central focus of the current research. Some researchers have pointed out that ethnic identity is relevant to self-esteem and it is particularly important to children from ethnic minority backgrounds (Phinney, 1992). However, the research on social identity is predominantly conducted in Western contexts and there is lack of evidence supporting the generalization of developmental models of social identity in children to all ethnic groups and particularly those growing up in different cultures and national contexts.

The research reported in this thesis is a cross cultural and developmental study which compares social identity in relation to self-esteem among British born Chinese (BBC),

white British, Hong Kong Chinese and Mainland Chinese children. The overarching aim is to explore the influence of social context and ethnic culture on social identity development and self-esteem. Three research studies were conducted in Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Scotland with 464 children across three age groups, age 8, 11 and 14 years (148 children from Mainland China, 155 Hong Kong Chinese children, 70 British born Chinese children, and 91 Scottish children). In addition, 46 parents of BBC children were surveyed to investigate their cultural orientation.

The first study was designed to explore cultural similarities and differences in social identity and its relation to self-esteem across four groups of children in three age groups. Social identity (self-description questionnaire) and self-esteem (Harter's Self-esteem questionnaire) were measured with all four groups of children. The result revealed significant differences of social identity across the groups. Four cultural groups of children think individual self was the most common form of identity. All the Chinese groups emphasized show more collective self than white Scottish children whereas the white Scottish sample of children placed more focused on individual identity. All four groups of children had high self-esteem, and no correlation was evident between social identity and self-esteem. Furthermore, analysis found no significant developmental change in social identity or self-esteem with age.

The second study focused on BBC and white Scottish children: these share national context, but differ in ethnic identity. The study was designed to explore children's national self-categorisation, the degree of national/ethnic identification (Chinese, Scottish, or both), and their perception of the positive and negative traits of Chinese and Scottish people across the age (using a Trait Attribution Task). BBC children's sense of national identity varied in different national contexts, whereas white Scottish children were more fixed in their sense of national identity. Furthermore, BBC children attributed more positive traits to Chinese than to Scottish people, and white Scottish children attributed more positive traits to Scottish than to Chinese. BBC and white Scottish children evaluated both Chinese and Scottish groups positively, but they both attributed more positive traits to in-groups than out-groups. Some age-related differences were identified for degree of national identification.

The third study introduced a novel social identity vignettes task to examine BBC and white Scottish children's perceptions of ethnic identity of a Chinese character within two contrasting socio-cultural contexts (Scottish versus Chinese). This study addresses the question of whether children's social identifications are adaptive and sensitive to social context, and how this contextual sensitivity might change with age. It also explored the link between parents' attitudes towards their children's cultural orientation and children's national/ethnic identity in identity vignettes. The study revealed that both BBC and Scottish children judged the vignette characters as having a stronger Chinese identity or Scottish identity according to whether they were described in a Chinese or Scottish vignette. This cultural sensitivity increased with age. Both groups had a positive evaluation of the vignette characters' self-esteem in both Chinese and Scottish cultural situations. Parental cultural orientation attitudes (using General Ethnicity Questionnaire) towards their children were also examined and differences of language proficiency among BBC children were identified. There is no connection between children's strength of Chinese and Scottish identification and parents' strength of cultural orientation towards Chinese or Scottish.

Together, the findings presented in this thesis extend our understanding of social identity development, ethnic and national attitudes and the developmental intergroup attitudes among children from different national and ethnic groups. Furthermore, findings indicate that social identity is a complex and dynamic process in children's development that cannot be understood without considering national and specific socio-cultural contexts as frames of reference. The findings of this research have important implications for child-related policy and practice and for future research on social identity development.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Abstract of Thesis	iv
Table of Contents	vii
List of Figures	xiii
List of Tables	xv
List of Abbreviations	xviii

### **Chapter 1 Social Identity Theory 1-31**

1.1	Introduction	1
1.2	The development of Social Identity Theory	4
1.2.1	Social Identity Theory (SIT)	4
1.2.2	Self-Categorisation Theory (SCT)	8
1.2.3	Ethnic identity, national identity and racial identity	10
1.2.4	Social identity and Self-esteem	13
1.3	Developmental perspectives of social identity, ethnic identity and national identity	16
1.3.1	Cognitive Development Theory (CDT)	16
1.3.2	Social Identity Development Theory (SIDT)	18
1.3.3	Development of ethnic identity, national identity and racial identity	21
1.4	Social Context Influences on Children's Social Identity	25
1.4.1	Societal-Social-Cognitive Motivational Theory (SSCMT)	25
1.4.2	Parents' influence on children's ethnic identity	28
1.5	Conclusion	30

### **Chapter 2 Studying Chinese and Scottish children in different social and historical contexts 32-60**

2.1	Introduction	32
2.2	Cross cultural comparison studies	33

2.3	British born Chinese children (BBC)	37
2.3.1	Existing research in the British Chinese population	38
2.3.2	History of Chinese migration to the UK	38
2.3.3	British Chinese and BBC children	39
2.3.4	Insights into identity of BBC adolescents through new media	40
2.3.5	Acculturation and the adaptation of BBC children	42
2.4	Scottish Children	45
2.5	Children in Hong Kong	49
2.6	Children in Mainland China	53
2.7	Summary	58

### **Chapter 3 Methods 61-80**

3.1	Introduction	61
3.2	Design	61
3.3	Sample	64
3.3.1	Sampling and Recruitment	64
3.3.2	The Achieved Sample	70
3.4	Task selection and data collection instruments	72
3.5	Pilot Studies	75
3.6	Data Collection Procedures	76
3.6.1	Data collection in Scotland	76
3.6.2	Data collection in Mainland China	77
3.6.3	Data collection in Hong Kong	78
3.7	Ethical Issues	78
3.8	Conclusion	79

### **Chapter 4 Study 1: Cross-cultural comparison of social identity and self-esteem among Mainland Chinese, Hong Kong Chinese, BBC and white Scottish children 81-121**

4.1	Introduction	81
4.1.1	Cultural influences on Social identity	81

4.1.2	Development of social and ethnic identity	82
4.1.3	Social identity and self-esteem	83
4.2	The present study	84
4.3	Methods	87
4.3.1	Participants	87
4.3.2	Measures	87
4.3.3	Translation process for research instruments	93
4.3.4	Procedure	94
4.4	Results	94
4.4.1	Social identity among four groups of children	95
4.4.2	Self-esteem among four cultural groups of children	104
4.4.3	Relationship between social identity and self-esteem	112
4.5	Discussion	114
4.5.1	Cross-cultural differences of children's understanding of social identity	115
4.5.2	Developmental aspects of children's understanding of social identity	116
4.5.3	Cross-cultural differences of children's understanding of self-esteem	117
4.5.4	Developmental sequences of children's self-esteem	119
4.5.5	Relationship of children's social identity and self-esteem	119
4.5.6	Conclusion	120

## **Chapter 5 Study 2: Self-identification and intergroup attitudes between BBC and white Scottish children 122-161**

5.1	Introduction	122
5.1.1	Development of children's national identification	123
5.1.2	Development of in-group and out-group attitudes	124
5.2	The Present Study	126
5.3	Methods	129
5.3.1	Participants	129
5.3.2	Tasks and Procedures	129

5.4	Results	132
5.4.1	Analysis	132
5.4.2	Task 1: Self-categorisations	133
5.4.3	Task 2: Self-Identification	141
5.4.4	Task 3: Adjective Cards Sorting Test	147
5.5	Discussion	154
5.5.1	The variability of self-categorisation between BBC and white Scottish children	155
5.5.2	The differences of self-identification between BBC and white Scottish children	157
5.5.3	The preferences of Chinese and Scottish people between BBC and Scottish children	158
5.5.4	Conclusions	160

## **Chapter 6 Study 3: Contextual factors that influence BBC and white Scottish children's developing understanding of BBC children's sense of ethnic identity**

**162-195**

6.1	Introduction	162
6.1.1	Social context influences on ethnic identity	162
6.1.2	Parents' influence on children's identity	165
6.2	The present study	166
6.3	Methods	169
6.3.1	Participants	169
6.3.2	Measurements	170
6.3.3	Procedure	176
6.4	Results	177
6.4.1	Mean score of each variable of children's identity vignette	177
6.4.2	Differences of mean scores of Chinese and Scottish identity in two types of vignette	177
6.4.3	Age changes in judgements of identity	180
6.4.4	Characters' feelings of positivity in the two vignette types	183

6.4.5	Correlations between perceptions of identity and feelings of positivity	185
6.4.6	Mean of subscales of cultural orientation questionnaire	185
6.4.7	Associations between parents' cultural orientation and children's perceptions of identity	186
6.5	Discussion	187
6.5.1	Social context differences in evaluating the characters' ethnic identity between the BBC and white Scottish cohorts	188
6.5.2	Age development in children's judgment of identity	189
6.5.3	BBC and white Scottish children's judgment of feelings of positivity	190
6.5.4	The relationship between identity and feelings of positivity	191
6.5.5	The relationship between parents' cultural orientation and children's identity	192
6.6	Conclusion	193

## **Chapter 7 General Discussion 196-219**

7.1	Introduction	196
7.2	Synthesising emergent themes across studies	198
7.2.1	Cross-cultural differences in the development of social identity	198
7.2.2	BBC children's integrated identity and positive self-esteem	201
7.2.3	Children's development of social identity	204
7.2.4	Intergroup attitudes of BBC and white Scottish children	205
7.2.5	The role of social context in influencing children's ethnic identity	208
7.3	Implications for policy and practice	211
7.4	Limitations and suggestions for future research	215
7.5	Conclusion	218

**Appendices**

- A. Posters Used for the Research
- B. Invitation Letters to Schools in Scotland, Mainland China and Hong Kong
- C. Informed Consent Forms
- D. Questionnaires of Children in Study 1
- E. Card-Sorting Tasks in Study 2
- F. Children and Parents Measurements in Study 3

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Societal-Social-Cognitive-Motivation Theory (SSCMT) (adapted from Barrett, 2007)	27
Figure 1.2 The relationship between socialisation, social identity and self-esteem (reproduced from Hughes et al. (2009)	29
Figure 2.1 Four Acculturation Strategies as a function of two issues (adapted from Berry, 2009)	43
Figure 3.1 An overview of the research design	63
Figure 4.1 Mean scores of collective self, individual self and relational self across the groups	98
Figure 4.2 Mean of collective self among four groups of children across age 8, 11 and 14 years	100
Figure 4.3 Mean of individual self among four groups of children across age 8, 11 and 14 years	101
Figure 4.4 Mean of relational self among four groups of children across age 8, 11 and 14 years	102
Figure 4.5 Frequencies of comparison between self and other among four groups	103
Figure 4.6 Mean score of social self-esteem sub-scale among four ethnic groups across age	106
Figure 4.7 Mean score of physical self-esteem sub-scale among four ethnic groups across age	107
Figure 4.8 Mean score of behaviour sub-scales of self-esteem among four ethnic groups across age	108
Figure 4.9 Mean score of athletic self-esteem sub-scale among four ethnic groups across age	109
Figure 4.10 Mean score of scholastic self-esteem sub-scale among four ethnic groups across age	110
Figure 4.11 Mean score of global self-esteem sub scale among four ethnic groups across age	111
Figure 4.12 Mean score of global self-esteem on the most important social identity among four cultural groups	113

Figure 4.13 Mean score of global self-esteem on the second most important identity among four cultural groups	114
Figure 5.1 Mean score of positive traits and negative traits towards Chinese and Scottish broken down by ethnic groups	148
Figure 5.2 The mean of the extent of like/dislike of Chinese and Scottish, broken down by ethnic group	152
Figure 6.1 Mean score of the characters' perceived identity in two types of vignettes	177
Figure 6.2 Mean score of the characters' Chinese identity in the two types of vignettes for each age group	180
Figure 6.3 Mean score of the characters' Scottish identity in the two types of vignettes for the different age groups	182
Figure 6.4 Age change in perception of characters' feelings of positivity in two social contexts	184
Figure 6.5 Mean of Chinese and Scottish cultural orientation subscales	186



## LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1 Participating schools of the study	65
Table 3.2 Sample distribution of recruitment methods	67
Table 3.3 Places where the research was conducted with BBC children	67
Table 3.4 Distribution of age among four ethnic groups of participants	71
Table 3.5 Data Collection Tools for children and parents	75
Table 4.1 Coding of identities and examples with the nationalities that would fit that identity in brackets	89
Table 4.2 Coding of comparison between self and others	89
Table 4.3 Level of representation of the self	91
Table 4.4 Three new categories of social self and the allocations from the 14 emergent categories	91
Table 4.5 The percentage of each ethnic group that mentioned a particular identity	96
Table 4.6 The percentage of each group that rated items within each of the three categories as most important	99
Table 4.7 The percentage of each group that rated items within each of the three categories as most important groups	99
Table 4.8 Frequencies of comparison between self and other among four cultural groups	104
Table 4.9 Mean score of Modified Harter Self-esteem Subscales by four ethnic groups	105
Table 5.1 The frequency of different responses to the questions	134
Table 5.2 Frequencies of responses to the question “where are you from?” in Scotland, broken down by ethnic group	135
Table 5.3 The frequency of different responses to the questions	136
Table 5.4 Frequencies of responses to the question “where are you from?” in China, broken down by ethnic group	137
Table 5.5 The frequency of different responses to the questions	138

Table 5.6 Frequencies of responses to the questions “where are you from?” in USA, broken down by age and ethnic group	139
Table 5.7 The frequency with which the four possible levels of Scottish identification were chosen, by ethnic group	141
Table 5.8 The frequency with which the four possible levels of Chinese identification were chosen, broken down by ethnic group	141
Table 5.9 The frequency of the six possible levels of Scottish /Chinese/Scottish Chinese identification chosen, broken down by ethnic group	142
Table 5.10 The frequency of the four possible levels of children’s response in terms of Scottish identification, broken down by ethnic groups and age	144
Table 5.11 The frequency of the four possible levels of children’s response in terms of Chinese identification, broken down by ethnic group and age	145
Table 5.12 The frequency of the four possible levels of British born Chinese children’s British/Chinese /British Chinese identification chosen, broken down by age group	146
Table 5.13 Mean number, standard deviations, and minimum and maximum numbers used in describing traits of targets nationalities by BBC children (n=70)	147
Table 5.14 Mean number, standard deviations, and minimum and maximum numbers used in describing traits of targets nationalities by white Scottish children (n=91)	148
Table 5.15 The frequency of extent of like or dislike of Chinese, by ethnic group	151
Table 5.16 The frequency of extent of like or dislike of Scottish, by ethnic group	152
Table 6.1 Percentages for demographic measures of BBC families (n=40)	170
Table 6.2 The cultural aspects of vignettes in two different social contexts	173
Table 6.3 GEQC and GEQS items used to measure domain-specific cultural orientation	175
Table 6.4 Internal reliability of cultural domain scales in GEQ Chinese and GEQ Scottish	175
Table 6.5 Social context differences of Chinese identity, broken down by ethnic group and age	181
Table 6.6 Vignette differences of Scottish identity scores, broken by ethnic group and age	182
Table 6.7 Mean and significant differences of feelings of positivity scores between social contexts, broken down by participant group and age	184
Table 6.8 Correlation between identity and feelings (I&F) of positivity in two social contexts, broken down by ethnic group	185



## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

BBC	British born Chinese
SIT	Social Identity Theory
SCT	Self-Categorization Theory
CDT	Cognitive Development Theory
SSCMT	Societal-Social-Cognitive Motivational Theory
COL	Collectivism
IND	Individualism

# **CHAPTER 1**

## **SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY**

### **1.1 Introduction**

The purpose of the thesis is to adopt a psychological approach to exploring the development of the social identity of British born Chinese children in comparison with their peers. These will consist of white Scottish children who share a similar social context, and children with a Chinese heritage living in Hong Kong China or Mainland China. Children born in the United Kingdom (UK) with one or more parents of Chinese heritage are known as British born Chinese (BBC).

In the UK, the Chinese community is one of the largest and oldest in Europe (Pieke, 2004). The first settlers came to the UK from Tianjing and Shanghai in the early 19th century. The UK Chinese community constitutes one of the three largest groups of overseas Chinese in Europe: the other two being the Chinese Diaspora in France and the Chinese community in Russia. According to the 2001 UK census (The 2011 census results on ethnicity and nationality covered the population were only released for England and Wales), there were approximately 250,000 Chinese people in Britain. The Chinese community is the fastest growing ethnic minority group in the UK, with 9.9% annual growth between 2001 and 2007. It is estimated to have reached a population of 400,000 by 2006. At the time of the 2001 census, there were 30,000 Chinese immigrant children studying in British schools, 75% of whom were born in the UK (Office for National Statistics, 2006).

Unlike Chinese immigrant parents (who would already have established a Chinese identity before they came to the UK), children who are born in the UK, but grown up in Chinese immigrant families, face a complex process of establishing their dual identity during development. On the one hand, they are maintaining Chinese cultural roots and, on the other, adapting to the new UK social world (Parker & Song, 2007). This process become even more challenging when the two cultures in which they live contrast markedly with each other, as in the case of Chinese and British cultures. One notable cultural difference, with implications for sense of belonging, is that China is a communist country where collectivism is emphasised, whereas the UK is a

typical Western culture, in which the emphasis is on individualism (Allik & Realo, 2004).

To date, research on BBC children has taken a sociological approach (Parker & Song, 2006, 2007), focussing predominantly on their academic achievements (Archer & Francis, 2007; Francis & Archer, 2005). Archer and Francis (2006) suggest that, when it comes to research, BBC children's psychological wellbeing, cross-cultural experiences and cultural adaptations have been neglected. The focus of this thesis is focused on how BBC children thinking about themselves while living in a society in which their ethnic culture is not pre-dominant. According to Parker and Song (2007), questions about 'belonging' are now a central concern for BBC children. Chinese children born in Britain often describe themselves as 'banana': yellow skin with a white heart, indicating a preference for British culture. They may feel embarrassed and confused by their 'banana' identity. Imbued with both Chinese and British culture, the question arises whether the BBC children can integrate into British society while maintaining their Chinese cultural heritage, and, if they do, to what extent they maintain the cultural heritage of their parents. Research on identity and belonging among this population is minimal, and is primarily focused on adolescence. However, since the children are born in the UK, within the cultural setting of the Chinese parents, awareness of a dual social identity must contain a developmental aspect. Therefore, this thesis investigates BBC children's social identity from a developmental psychological perspective. Although the process and structure of understanding an individual's identity is fundamental to psychological inquiry, relatively little work has been undertaken to address the development of social identity amongst children, in comparison to the considerable body of literature on social identity in adults (Bennett, 2004).

From the developmental perspective of social identity, Sani and Bennett (2004) suggest that social identity is subject to important developmental changes. Younger children's perception of social identity is based on their understanding of behaviours, practices and dispositions. Later, they consider social identity to be linked to socially shared beliefs. Social Identity Theory (Hogg, 2006; Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995) is a

social psychological theory to explain the role of self-conception in group membership, intergroup relationships and group process. Social Identity Theory proposes that group members are in favour of their in-group in order to create positive distinction between in-groups and out-groups (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Rubin & Hewstone, 1998). Social identity is also related to self-esteem. Maintenance of high self-esteem is considered a motivation behind this strategy in order to maintain and achieve a positive social identity (Rubin & Hewstone, 1998). However, maintaining a positive social identity is harder for children from an immigrant family background. Berry, Phinney, Sam and Vedder (2006) have proposed that young immigrant children belonging to ethnic minority groups are caught in two cultural worlds. In particular, having their ethnic and racial identities imposed by virtue of their physical appearance may lead to a reduction in self-esteem (Harris-Britt, Valrie, Kurtz-Costes, & Rowley, 2007).

In order to explore these developmental challenges in identity, this thesis will investigate the development of social identity in BBC children living in Scotland, UK. Factors that shape BBC children's identity, including parental aspects, will be identified and links with self-esteem will be examined. This research will adopt a cross-cultural approach, comparing social identity in relation to self-esteem among BBC children, white Scottish children, Hong Kong Chinese children and Mainland Chinese children. It will also take a developmental approach by comparing across three age groups: eight, eleven and fourteen years, based on the development of children's understanding of social identity (Bennett, 2004).

This thesis is comprised of seven chapters. Two comprise of literature reviews. There is then an outline of methods used, and three chapters focussing on results, followed by a discussion. The remainder of this first literature review will focus on the development of social identity, with respect to ethnic identity and the manner in which it is related to national identity and self-esteem. The second literature review will focus on the development of social identity in Chinese children living in Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Scotland compared with their white Scottish peers. Based on the literature reviews, Chapter Three introduces the methods used in

conducting this research. Chapter Four compares the developmental changes of social identity and self-esteem across the four cultural groups of children. Chapter Five presents the findings of tasks measuring self-categorisation, national identification, and intergroup attitudes towards Chinese and Scottish people among BBC and white Scottish children. Chapter Six explores how the social context influences BBC and white Scottish children's ethnic identity, national identity and feeling of positivity, as well as the role of parental cultural orientation in children's social identity. In Chapter Seven, the main findings of this thesis are synthesised and discussed with regards to the result themes. Chapter Seven concludes with a discussion on the implications for theory, the limitations of these studies, and suggestions for future studies.

## **1.2 The development of Social Identity Theory**

Social identity has a number of conceptual components serving different explanation functions and focussing on different aspects of group membership (Hogg & Van Knippenberg, 2004). This section presents the conceptual structure of social identity, along with an overview of the development of theory in the field of social identity. Subjects covered include Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1978) (section 1.2.1) and Self-Categorisation Theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) (section 1.2.2). Also discussed are aspects of social identity: ethnic, national, and racial (section 1.2.3), and the relationship between social identity and self-esteem (section 1.2.4).

### **1.2.1 Social Identity Theory (SIT)**

Tajfel first introduced the definition of social identity as

*“That part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his membership of a social group (or groups), together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership”* (Tajfel, 1978, p. 63).

Hogg, Abrams, Otten and Hinkle (2004) argue that social identity is a concept differing from personal identity. Social identity refers to an individual's sense of who they are, based on their social group membership. Such group memberships include gender, ethnic, racial and national identities. “Group membership is a matter of collective self-construal- we, us, and them” (Hogg et al., 2004, p. 251). Personal



identity, on the other hand, refers to the attributes of an individual not shared with other people. This can include physical appearance, personality, abilities etc., or a personal dyadic relationship with a specific other (such as “me” and “you”) (Hogg et al 2004, p. 251). Hogg et al (2004) suggest that, although personal identity has little to do with group process, group identity is often framed and developed based on personal identity and interpersonal relationships.

Although theories of identity conventionally divide into social identity and personal identity, there are different varieties and dimensions of social identity defined by different scholars. Reid and Deaux (1996) make a distinction between collective and individual self, such that collective self reflects social identities and individual self reflects personal identities. They also suggest that collective social identities (such as ethnic identity and religion) may differ in quality. Brewer and Gardner (1996) distinguish three aspects of social self: individual self with differing personal traits from the others; relational self, which defines the relationship between self and some specific other people, and collective self, which is defined by group membership. Brewer (2001) defines four types of social identity. *Person based social identity* emphasises how group properties internalise into an individual’s self-concept. *Relational social identities* define self in relation to specific others, with whom they interact in the social context. *Group based social identities* are equivalent to conventionally defined social identities. *Collective identities* refer to the group members who share group attributes and engage in presenting this image in front of others. While Reid and Deaux (1996) compare individual self and collective self, Brewer and Gardner (1996) define a further aspect of social self: relational self. The thesis will apply Brewer and Gardner’s (1996) three aspects of social self to analyse the social identity of Mainland Chinese, Hong Kong Chinese, BBC and white Scottish children (for details, see Chapter 4, Study 1).

Tajfel (1981) proposes that social groups not only help people to locate their place in society, but also orient a sense of belonging, which therefore has potential to become an important source of pride and self-esteem. Consequently, when people internalise the membership of a particular social group into their conception of themselves, they

are motivated to view the group positively (Barrett & Oppenheimer, 2011). The sense of how in-group and out-group development has its origin in this process. Social identity rests on comparisons between in-groups and related out-groups striving to establish positive bias towards the in-group and negative bias towards the out-group. This is motivated by an underlying need to boost self-esteem and maintain a positive self-concept (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986). Simon and Brown (1987) propose that positive social identity does not only contribute to in-group favouritism, but also to the greater “groupness” of the in-groups in comparison to out-groups. In-group favouritism can therefore be associated with the homogeneity (Brown & Smith, 1989) of the in-group. Simon and Brown (1987) also predict and observe that social identification is stronger in ethnic minority groups than non-ethnic minority groups. At the same time, in-group homogeneity is evident in ethnic minority groups and out-group homogeneity is evident in non-ethnic minority groups.

From the developmental perspective, there are a small number of studies demonstrating that children display more positive attitudes towards the in-group than out-groups (Barrett, 2007; Bennett, Lyons, Sani, & Barrett, 1998; Nesdale & Flessner, 2001). One study grouped 258 white Australian children into two age-groups (128 mean aged 5.9 years, and 130 mean aged 8.1 years) (Nesdale & Flessner, 2001). In both, children were assigned to high and low status groups, based on their drawing capabilities. Three measures were employed. The first measured the children’s positive rating of their own groups compared to others. The second measured differences in the children’s rating of their own groups in comparison to other groups, and the third measured the children’s desire to change groups. The results demonstrate that children as young as five years make distinctions between in-group and out-groups and that these group differences influence children’s intergroup attitudes. The result also confirms that both ages of children favour in-groups rather than out-groups and that, furthermore, children believe they are able to change groups. Older children possess an increased awareness of social mobility. Consistent to SIT, children in the lower status groups express a desire to change to one with a higher status.

Research also suggests that a number of different patterns in the development of national identity and intergroup attitudes exist within different social historical settings (Barrett, 2007; Bennett et al., 2004). Clay and Barrett (2011) investigated national identification and attitudes among white English children aged six to seven and ten to eleven years. A total of 80 children were interviewed. Tasks were set to determine the strength of national identification and trait attribution, along with affective questions, in order to measure attitudes towards four national groups: English, German, French and Dutch. The results establish that children's attitudes to German people (a traditional enemy out-group) is different from that towards French people (a positive like out-group) and Dutch people (a non-salient out-group). The study also identifies consistent in-group favouritism in both age groups. A further multinational study, conducted with 594 children aged six from Azerbaijan; Britain; Georgia; Russia; and Ukraine (Bennett et al., 2004), applied adjective traits sorting tasks. These were used to examine young children's evaluations of the national in-group and out-groups. The results demonstrate that in all national samples the number of positive adjectives attributed to in-groups is higher than those attributed to out-groups. It also reveals that the positive evaluation of in-groups is not necessarily related to negative views of out-groups.

SIT, however, emphasises that in-group and out-group formation will only occur under certain conditions (Barrett & Oppenheimer, 2011; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Firstly, individuals must internalise their self-concept into the social group membership. If they do not, or if the attachment to the group member identification is weak, these results will not take place. Secondly, when they compare in-group against out-group, the out-groups must be relevant to the self-definition of in-groups. If the definitions of out-groups are not relevant to that of in-groups, then favourable comparisons to in-groups over out-groups will not occur. Thirdly, the social comparison will only reveal itself when comparison is made on the dimensions of how the in-groups view themselves. Thus, SIT predicts that in-group bias and out-group derogation occur as a result of a combination of social categorisation and social comparison (Barrett & Oppenheimer, 2011).

SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) proposes that when in-group and out-group formation occurs, a variety of alternative methods are utilised in order to establish social comparisons and assist in-group members in achieving positive self-concept towards their social identity. These strategies include “individual mobility” (transferring from the in-groups to the out-groups); “social creativity” (redefining the in-groups or changing the dimensions which are being used, so that the in-group acquires a more positive image); and “social competition” (the process of creating differentiations between groups). Different social comparison strategies will be used in different circumstances, depending on whether the group boundaries are permeable and whether the status of the in- and out-groups are legitimate, or the out-group status is stable. Individual mobility is more likely to occur when the boundaries of groups have increased permeability. This ensures transference from one group to another can take place. Social creativity and social competition are more likely to occur when groups’ boundaries are impermeable. Social competition may take place when differences between the status of the in-groups and out-groups are illegitimate, or the stability of the out-group is weak.

Since the early development of SIT, it has become one of the principal theoretical frameworks in social psychology for analysing group membership and inter-group relationships among adults (Hogg, 2001). Although SIT was not formulated to account for the process of group formation in young children, many studies have suggested the benefits of the application of SIT to young children (Nesdale, 1999 a). SIT has been used to explain the reasons children who belong to different groups display different inter-group attitudes and how this depends on the extent of their identification to the in-group (Bennett & Sani, 2008; Nesdale & Flessner, 2001), the publically recognised status of the in-group and the level of threat to the in-group (Barrett, 2007).

### **1.2.2 Self-Categorisation Theory (SCT)**

While remaining consistent with the classic statement of SIT (Tajfel, 1978), Turner and his colleagues developed Self-Categorisation Theory (SCT) as a new and separate theory from SIT (Turner et al., 1987). SCT specifies the process of social

categorisation as the basis of group behaviour cognition (Hogg & Terry, 2001). SCT argues that an individual has an ability to identify himself/herself with a certain social group in a given social situation by psychologically structuring the context in terms of relatively discrete social categories. Stereotyping is constructed to enable one category's meaning to be established in relation to another. This cognitive strategy assists in understanding, and differentiating between groups. SCT proposes that category stereotypes vary with context. For example, in a study by Hopkins, Regan and Abell (2011), when adult participants were asked to rate Scottish and English people, the Scottish viewed the English as emotionally warm but not hardworking. But when the Scottish judged the English in relation to south Europeans, English people were considered emotionally cold and hardworking. Hence, the stereotypes attributed to a particular group will change according to the given context in which the group is being considered (Barrett & Davis, 2008).

SCT proposes that when social identity becomes salient, the self-perception of an individual may undergo a degree of depersonalisation (Barrett & Davis, 2008). Depersonalisation activates group behaviours and attitudes, suppressing personal identities and increasing in-group homogeneity. The particular stereotype used to describe the in-group category will depend on the prevailing context and the identity of the comparison out-group. However, when the social context contains only in-group members, self-categorisation is placed lower in the categorical hierarchy. As a result, a lower level of social identity is elicited, increasing perceptions of in-group variability.

SCT is relevant to attaining an understanding of the stereotyping attitudes of children and inter-groups (Barrett & Davis, 2008). Firstly, SCT predicts that children's self-categorisation will vary according to which specific out-groups define the context. The implication being that children raised in a multi-ethnic or multi-racial environment hold differing views of ethnic and racial attitudes from children who grow up in a mono-ethnic or mono-racial environment. The thesis will explore whether there are differences between BBC children who have dual identity and white Scottish children who have a single identity (see Study 3, Chapter 6). Secondly,

SCT suggests that the contents of children's stereotypes of racial, ethnic, national and state groups vary in the comparative contexts, and children use different dimensions to describe in-groups and out-groups depending on the particular out-groups present in the context. Thirdly, SCT suggests that children's stereotypes will depend on the presence or absence of out-groups for comparison within the context. Thus, children's in-group and out-group attitudes may vary in different situations and may also depend on the presence or absence of out-group members.

Both similarities and differences have been identified with respect to SIT and SCT (Barrett & Davis, 2008). SIT and SCT share the majority of crucial points concerning attitudes, prejudices, and discrimination of individuals towards inter-groups. Both theories provide the foundation for social psychological research into adults' and adolescents' intergroup attitudes. Both also suggest some ways for developmental psychologists to study children's attitudes towards ethnic groups. However, SIT and SCT present somewhat different emphases. SIT emphasises that social identity is connected with social categories or membership of groups (Tajfel, 1978), whereas SCT stresses the self-definition perspective (Turner et al., 1987). In addition, SIT emphasises the motivational and affective aspects of social identity, whereas SCT focuses on the situational aspects. Compared with SIT, SCT places more emphasis on the importance of the context and variation of context influences in individuals' identification, but focuses less on explaining individual differences in group identification (Hornsey, 2008).

### **1.2.3 Ethnic identity, national identity and racial identity**

The focus in the previous section of this chapter, has been on broad concepts of SIT (Tajfel, 1978) and SCT (Turner et al., 1987). SIT and SCT provide a theoretical basis to understanding an individual's place in society (Bennett, 2004). There are as many different types of social identities as there are groups with whom an individual feels a sense of belonging or personal relationship (Hogg et al., 2004). The thesis aims to investigate the ways in which BBC children perceive and identify themselves and others. The research will therefore focus on the ethnic, national and racial aspects of social identity. In the following section of this chapter there will be a discussion of

the definition of ethnic, racial and national identity, along with differentiations of those terms.

According to De Vos (1995, p. 18): “an ethnic group is a self-perceived inclusion of those who hold in common a set of traditions not shared by others with whom they are in contact”. Ethnic identity is based on ancestry and cultural attributes such as language, religion, lifestyle, etc. (De Vos, 1995). According to Weinreich (1988), ethnic identity is a complex process in which individuals form their own ethnic attitudes, make decisions, and evaluate the relative importance of their own culture. Empirical evidence suggests that ethnic identity among adults is multifaceted and includes a number of components (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Phinney, 2004; Phinney & Ong, 2007). These components include: self-categorisation; commitment and attachment; exploration; ethnic behaviour; in-group attitudes, values and beliefs, and the importance of group membership. Self-categorisation refers to the process of identifying oneself as a member of a social group. Individuals use different social categories or self-labels at different times (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Commitment (namely a sense of belonging), involves a strong attachment and personal investment in a group (Cokley, 2005). Commitment relates to the specific attitudes or worldviews held by individuals. However, according to Phinney and Ong (2007), commitment cannot fully account for an achieved identity because an individual’s commitment may have originated in the identification coming from their parents and other role models. Individuals who possess commitment may not understand its meaning and implication.

The next component, exploration, is the experience of individuals seeking information in order to explore their ethnicity (Ashmore et al., 2004). Exploration includes learning cultural practices and attending cultural events. It is most common in adolescents (Phinney, 2004). Ethnic behaviours include: speaking the language of the ethnic group; eating the food, and associating with members of one’s group (Felix-Ortiz, Newcomb, & Myers, 1994). Use of ethnic language is considered the key aspect of ethnic identity (Phinney, 1990). Although behaviours are actions, they can also be a means of expressing identity. Empirical studies have found that positive

in-group attitudes (such as pride and feeling at ease in the group), are important aspects of achieved ethnic identity among adults (Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997). Values and beliefs are derived from ethnic groups. They are strongly correlated with the sense of belonging. Values are important indicators of an individual's closeness to the group. The importance of individuals' attitudes towards their ethnic identity varies among different people and different groups (Phinney & Alipuria, 1990). Ethnic minority groups place greater value on the importance of their ethnic identity than do the dominant majority (Phinney, 2004).

Race is one of the embodied social categories (Hirschfeld, 2005, 2008). Perceptually, race captures the attention on the basis of discontinuous appearance between people of different races. These differences rely on lower order perceptual process, such as colour, shape, and texture, and are easy for children to recognise. Children sort people into different racial categories based on surface appearance: (skin) colour, (nose) shape, and (hair) texture. Race is therefore not an inevitable exploration of the mind, but more a discovery of biology. The significance of race is also a concept dependent on the cultural environment. For example, in South Asia, it is not race but "occupation" that appears to be a crucial social category (Hirschfeld, 2005). Cultural variation plays an important role in the significance attached to racial categorisation.

National identity is a reflection of the preferences of individuals towards the countries or nations to which they are affiliated (Office for National Statistics, 2013). Smith (1993) illuminates the conceptual distinction between ethnic identity and national identity. An ethnic group denotes a human community sharing common ancestry, history, traditions, customs and practices. By contrast, a national group denotes a human community living in their historical homeland, sharing a codified and standardised history, mass public culture, customs and symbols.

Ethnic, national and racial identities are descriptors of group identities. Despite significant differences between these terms, they are on occasions used interchangeably. Some overlap exists between the concepts of ethnicity and race, but the distinction is significant. Ethnicity is based on the cultural traditions and values



of the group transmitted through generations (Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990). Race is a biological concept, its categorisation based on visible physical characteristics, such as skin colour (Helms, 1994). Examples of ethnicities in the United Kingdom are: Indian; Palestinian; Chinese, and Polish. In addition, some pan-ethnic labels are utilised to identify an individual's ethnic identity, such as Chinese-British and Indian-British. National identity is characterised as an individual's national and state belonging (Smith, 1993). The distinction between ethnic, national and racial identity is discussed in Chapter 5 (section 5.1).

#### **1.2.4 Social identity and Self-esteem**

The previous section emphasised that social identity has different aspects, such as ethnic, national and racial. This section will focus on the relationship between social identity and self-esteem. SIT claims that people strive for positive self-concepts and the value of social identity will impact self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Self-esteem refers to “a personal judgment of worthiness that is expressed in the attitudes the individual holds towards himself/herself” (Coopersmith, 1967, p.5). It is important to evaluate self-esteem due to the important role it is considered to play in the development of children and adolescents (Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997). Self-esteem has been found to be positively associated with psychological well-being and negatively related to depression (Harter, 1993). Due to the importance of self-esteem in the development of psychological wellbeing among children and adolescents, a considerable number of studies have been devoted to its understanding (Rosenberg, 1965). However, research about self-esteem is mostly focused on individual capability and interpersonal experience (Harter, 1993). Harter (1993) proposes that there are different domains in self-esteem, such as academic ability, athletic competence, social acceptance, physical appearance, and global self-esteem. Global self-esteem is defined by Harter (1993, p. 88) as “the level of global regard self-esteem that one has for the self as a person”.

This thesis examines the links between social identity and self-esteem. The theoretical basis of a link between group membership and self-esteem is derived from SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Tajfel and Turner (1986) suggest that group

members differentiate their own group from other groups and evaluate their own group more favourably as a means of enhancing their self-esteem. The relationship between social identity and self-esteem has been identified by several researchers (Ellemers, Kortekaas, & Ouwerkerk, 1999; Rubin & Hewstone, 1998). However, much of the research is focused on examining the relationship between ethnic identity and self-esteem. Nesdale and Mark (2003) conducted a survey to examine the ethnic identification of 510 immigrant adolescents, including the manner in which ethnic identification relates to self-esteem and psychological wellbeing. The results demonstrate that the immigrants' ethnic identification is related to ethnic self-esteem, while personal self-esteem is related to individual achievements. Immigrant psychological health is dependent on personal, rather than ethnic, self-esteem. A similar study has been conducted with 1062 adolescents of Mexican origin in three public high schools in the United States, in order to examine their ethnic identity and self-esteem (Umaña-Taylor, 2004). Each high school differs in the ethnic composition of its students' backgrounds. In the first, Latino background students predominate, in the second, non-Latino, while in the third there is a balanced number of Latino and non-Latino. Ethnic identity is assessed by a Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney, 1992), and self-esteem is measured by Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965). There are two notable results. Firstly, ethnic identity is strongly related to self-esteem amongst all the adolescents in the three types of school. Secondly, adolescents who attend a non-Latino school show higher ethnic identity than adolescents in the other schools.

According to Tajfel (1981), if the group is evaluated negatively by the society, group members will experience lower self-esteem. This idea is supported by a number of earlier studies. For example, the 'Doll Test' developed by Clark and Clark (1939, 1947), is used to test the racial awareness, identification and attitudes towards children's own, and other, ethnic groups. The test was employed with African American and white European American children, aged three to six years. The technique was to present the children with four dolls of the same dimension but differing in sex, skin and hair colour. The first four questions were then related towards revealing ethnic attitudes: "Which doll would you like to play with?"

“Which doll looks nice/ ugly” “Which doll has a nice colour?” Children were required to choose only one doll. The results reveal African American children choose white, instead of black, dolls, inferring the lower self-esteem of African American children, due to being affiliated to a racially stigmatised group.

There is however, empirical research refuting the above conclusion. Findings from a cross-cultural comparison of self-esteem among BBC, white British and Hong Kong Chinese children, imply that children from ethnic minority background are not necessarily linked to lower self-esteem (Chan, 2000). In a sample of 1303 children, self-esteem was assessed with the Coopersmith Self-esteem Inventory (Coopersmith, 1967). The results reveal few differences of self-esteem between children of different ages. There are, however, significant differences between ethnic groups. BBC children possess significantly higher self-esteem than their Hong Kong counterparts, and demonstrate no obvious differences in relation to white British children. According to Harter (1985), higher achievement is linked to positive self-esteem. But although Hong Kong Chinese children are known to be hard working and to outperform their Western counterparts in academic terms, in this study Hong Kong Chinese children were revealed to possess the lowest self-esteem across the groups. Conversely, BBC children, despite being viewed as an “ethnic minority”, scored higher.

There are a number of limitations when it comes to existing research on social identity and self-esteem. Firstly, research on social identity and self-esteem has largely focused on ethnic identity and its relationship to self-esteem. There is little consideration of other aspects of social identity in relation to self-esteem, such as national identity (Phinney, et al., 1997). In addition, the relationship between social identity and self-esteem cannot be generalised, as it varies across the ethnic/ national groups due to historical and cultural differences (Phinney et al., 1997). Furthermore, the majority of the research is focused upon the ethnic identity and self-esteem of African Americans, and little is known of other ethnic groups (Phinney et al., 1997). Moreover, much of the research on social identity and self-esteem has focused on adolescents and adults (Phinney, 1990; Tashakkori, 1993). Little is known

concerning the connections between children's social identity and their self-esteem. Ruble et al. (2004), suggest that a developmental approach would serve to shed light on the controversial relationship between social identity and self-esteem.

In summary: The two theories of social identity, SIT (Tajfel, 1978) and SCT (Turner et al., 1987), are discussed in Section 1.2. The focus then narrows onto three aspects of social identity: ethnic, national and racial. The link between social identity and self-esteem is also discussed. However, SIT and SCT are not formulated to predict age changes of the group process among children (Nesdale & Flessner, 2001). The two theories that take into account the development of children's intergroup attitudes are the Cognitive Development Theory (CDT) (Aboud, 1988, 2008) and the Social Identity Development Theory (SIDT) (Nesdale, 2004, 2008). CDT and SIDT will be discussed in the following section (section 1.3).

### **1.3 Developmental perspectives of social identity, ethnic identity and national identity**

The literature discussed in the previous section focused on social identity, and especially ethnic identity, and national identity. This section will focus on the developmental perspectives of social identity, ethnic identity and national identity, from childhood to adolescence. Recently, a number of theories inspired by SIT have been proposed to explain the development of children's intergroup attitudes. The review below will focus on the two theories pertinent to this thesis: CDT (Aboud, 1988, 2008) (see section 1.3.1) and SIDT (Nesdale, 2004, 2008) (see section 1.3.2). The developmental perspectives of ethnic and national identity, along with intergroup attitudes in relation to CDT and SIDT, will be reviewed in section 1.3.3.

#### **1.3.1 Cognitive Development Theory (CDT)**

In contrast to the motivational factors that contribute to the in-group preference in SIT, CDT (Aboud, 1987, 1988, 2008) argues that cognitive and socio-cognitive development influences children's development of intergroup attitudes. Based on Piaget's cognitive theory, Aboud (2008) postulates that children's development of intergroup attitudes reaches a peak at the age of six to seven years just preceding the

concrete operational stage, before they have mastered categorisation and can take the perspectives of others. Before that age, Aboud (2008) suggests that children's attitudes towards other national, ethnic and racial groups are dominated by what they can perceive, and their emotional attachment, so they prefer what is familiar and fear the unfamiliar. As a result, children exhibit negative bias towards out-groups. Aboud (1988, 2008) also suggests that at the age of six to seven years, when intergroup attitudes are established, children mainly associate relatively positive attributes with their in-group and negative with out-groups. But between ages six to seven and eleven to twelve, when they have the cognitive capacity to understand individual characteristics as well as group ones, children attribute relatively more negative traits to their in-group and more positive to out-groups.

Consistent with CDT, Aboud (2008; Aboud & Amato, 2001) proposes that socialisation factors may influence children's intergroup attitudes. This is particularly important to ethnic minority children, who tend not to display out-group prejudice before six to seven years. In addition, she acknowledges three other factors (parenting discourse, media exposure and education input) that influence children's intergroup attitudes (Aboud & Amato, 2001). Aboud (2008) suggests that, although these factors alter children's intergroup attitudes, individual attitudes depend mainly on the child's own stage of cognitive development.

Although CDT has made a contribution to offering a developmental account of children's cognitive change and how this relates to social identity, the single normative pattern of development has been criticised for lacking consideration to social context and motivation (Nesdale, 1999 b). CDT has difficulty accounting for the variety of different patterns of children's attitudes to national groups during middle childhood (Barrett, 2007). CDT has also been recognised as lacking a clear explanation for the reasons children display positive attitudes to some out-groups and negative ones to others. In the following section, there will be a review of Social Identity Development Theory (SIDT), which presents alternative developmental perspectives of social intergroup attitudes to CDT.

### **1.3.2 Social Identity Development Theory (SIDT)**

SIDT (Nesdale, 1999 b, 2001, 2004) attempts to explain the development of children's ethnic and racial prejudice through an intergroup approach. SIDT (Nesdale, 1999 b, 2004) differs in its predictions from CDT (Aboud, 1988, 2008). SIDT (1999 b) proposes that children who display ethnic prejudice have progressed through four sequential phases: undifferentiated; ethnic awareness; ethnic preference; and ethnic prejudice. Phase One, the undifferentiated phase, occurs prior to two to three years, when racial identity is not salient to young children. Children respond to the environment mainly based on what attracts their attention.

Phase Two, ethnic awareness, emerges at around three years (Nesdale, 1999 b). Ethnic awareness is particularly obvious to those who live in multi-racial societies (Clark & Clark, 1939) and children begin by following an adult's identification to out-group members. However, it is important to note that young children do not construct their own social categorisations, and their awareness of ethnicity is based on already existent and specified social categories, as well as established intergroup relations. The important achievement of children's development in this phase is ethnic self-identification. Some research has evidenced young children as young as three demonstrating an understanding of belonging to a particular group, after becoming aware of ethnic or racial categories (Marsh, 1970). It remains unclear whether this constitutes a child's own awareness of ethnicity, or if they are following the example of others. (Nesdale, 1999 b).

Phase Three, ethnic preference, occurs in children at about four years. At this stage, children do not reject out-groups, but demonstrate a preference for the in-group. Self-identification facilitates children in understanding the social structure of the community, different groups, and inter-relationship between groups. This is consistent with SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), which states that when a child has categorised him/herself into a group that child demonstrates preference for the in-group. It is, however, important to emphasise that there are differences between SIT and SIDT. SIT postulates that ethnic self-categorisation is sufficient to instigate in-

group favouring and out-group derogation among adults. SIDT argues that ethnic self-categorisation is focused mainly on in-group preference among children.

Phase Four, ethnic prejudice, occurs in children from seven years onwards (Nesdale, 1999 b). This is in contrast to the proposition of CDT (Aboud, 2008), which contends that ethnic prejudice diminishes after age seven. According to SIDT (Nesdale, 2004), ethnic prejudice shifts the focus of attention away from ethnic preferences in terms of children's perception, cognition and behaviour. Ethnic preference focuses directly on the in-group and its positive differentiation from out-groups. However, ethnic prejudice creates considerably increased attention to out-groups, or at least equal attention to both in-groups and out-groups. In essence, the major difference between ethnic preference and ethnic prejudice is as follows: ethnic preference signifies "like in-group members more than out-group members"; whereas ethnic prejudice signifies "dislike or hate out group members". Ethnic prejudice also implies derogating and discriminating against the members of ethnic minorities (Nesdale, 2004).

The argument that awareness is based on specified social categories is supported by a study conducted by Bigler and her colleagues (1997). Bigler, Jones and Lobliner (1997) conducted an experimental study with sixty-one elementary school children aged between six to nine years. The study was intended to explore the effects of social category on the formation of intergroup attitudes and how these were related to self-esteem. Following cognitive and self-esteem tasks, children were randomly assigned to different classrooms each with one of three following conditions: "biological assignment condition", "random drawing assignment condition" and "control condition". Participating children were assigned to two groups (with coloured shirts), labelled "blue" group and "yellow" group based on a biological category (hair colour), a random drawing category or no category. Teachers in the first two conditions repeatedly used the labels to categorise the children. After four weeks, children were asked to complete measures of intergroup attitudes and behaviour. The results reveal that using the assigned colour groups influence children's intergroup attitudes. Children were more favourable towards their own

group members. The results demonstrate an association between higher levels of self-esteem are related to children with higher levels of in-group belonging/inter-group bias. Importantly, this bias is not evident in the control group where the children had coloured shirts but the teachers did not use them to categorise.

There are some similarities and differences between CDT (Aboud, 1988; 2008) and SIDT (Nesdale, 2004; 2008). Both CDT and SIDT predict the development of social identity among children. CDT proposes that children's out-group prejudice increases until six to seven years and then diminishes, whereas SIDT proposes that children's prejudice develops after seven years old. Furthermore, CDT is derived from studies using trait attribution tasks (Doyle & Aboud, 1995). However, trait attribution tasks are criticised as potentially tailoring the responses of participants (Nesdale, 2004). Nesdale (2004) suggests using measurements which test children's implicit, rather than explicit, attitudes. However, findings from recent studies applying implicit measures did not support SIDT (Davis, Leman, & Barrett, 2007). A study was conducted with 112 children (51 were white English and 61 were black British) aged five, seven and nine, in a multi-ethnic primary school in London (Davis, Leman & Barrett, 2007). The key focus of this study is to examine the development of children's ethnic and racial identification, along with their relationship to the children's intergroup attitudes. The study employed several measures. These included children's implicit attitudes through a story memory task; children's explicit ethnic attitudes by an attribution task; racial and ethnic identification using Strength of Identification Scale, and self-esteem through Self-Perception Profile. The study revealed that the children's implicit prejudice remained steady after age six to seven, which diverges from the postulation of SIDT. The study also revealed no differences between the self-esteem of black and white children. Children from both ethnic groups stereotyped the black character, but there was no age difference in stereotyping. Positivity was greater towards the black than the white character on both the implicit and explicit tasks. Negativity towards the white character was observed in the implicit task. Moreover, it is difficult to apply SIDT to explain why extreme negativity can be established at the age of two to three years in countries



that have experienced war or conflict within ethnic groups (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005).

### **1.3.3 Development of ethnic identity, national identity and racial identity**

In the previous sections, two leading developmental theories in social identity (CDT and SIDT) were discussed. As reviewed in section 1.2.3, the thesis is focused on aspects of social identity: ethnic, national and racial. The following section will examine the developmental aspects of these three identities.

Swanson, Cunningham, Youngblood and Spencer (2009) suggest that children's development of racial identity begins with labelling different colour categories and then moves to being conceptually aware of racial categories. Children's awareness of racial identity reflects children's cognitive ability in differentiating individuals by their superficial characteristics. The research demonstrates that children develop racial awareness from a very young age. A study with 200 black and white children aged from six months to six years, discovered that infants are able to categorise people nonverbally by race and gender at the age of six months (Katz & Kofkin, 1997). Some researchers suggest that children as young as three to four years are able to identify different race groups by skin colour (Aboud, 2008; Hirschfeld, 2008; Swanson et al., 2009). Other studies provide evidence that children between three to five years not only distinguish people by race, but also express race based bias (Aboud, 2008; Hirschfeld, 2008). A study conducted with children aged three to five years in a racially and ethnically diverse day care centre, discovered that children use racial categories to identify themselves and others, to include or exclude children in activities, and to negotiate power in their play and social network (Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2002).

Swanson et al (2009) further suggest that children aged five to six years are able to identify the racial groups by constructed social categories, such as black and white. A classic study conducted by Clark and Clark (1939, 1947) applied the doll task to examine racial preferences of children from both ethnic minority (African American) and ethnic majority (European American) backgrounds. Both groups of children

were asked to choose between white and black dolls. The results show both groups of children demonstrated a preference for white dolls rather than black. These findings suggest that children attributed positive attributes to white and negative attributes to black. A similar research method was applied in a study by Spencer (1982) who examined African American and European American pre-school children's racial preference attitudes by showing them pictures of dark skinned people and white skinned people. Children were asked to choose the "smart" person in the picture. The findings reveal that both African American and European American children chose the white person as the smart person. This study also suggests that children's racial preference is not necessarily related to their self-concept. In the study, although African American children preferred the white image; they also had a positive self-concept.

A number of researchers suggest that the development of ethnic identity during childhood and adolescence is a dynamic process (Nesdale, 2004). The development of ethnic attitudes is consistent with a cognitive developmental perspective (Bernal & Knight, 1993). The cognitive developmental studies found that children as young as four years old show bias to others (Bernal & Knight, 1993). Majority white children show strong identification and favouritism towards their own racial group at aged four, but after seven years of age this favouritism declines with the improvement of cognitive abilities (Aboud, 1988). In terms of development of ethnic identity, Aboud and Skerry (1984) suggest that children develop their own ethnic identity at about eight years, or later. This statement is supported by a study exploring ethnic identity and development in Mexican-American children aged six to ten years (Bernal, Knight, Garza, Ocampo, & Cota, 1990). The study examines: ethnic self-identification; ethnic constancy; the use of ethnic role behaviours; ethnic knowledge; ethnic preference and feelings. The study observes an increased awareness of ethnic identity amongst children according to age. Younger children do not feel required to justify their physical characteristics, while older children are more likely to give an abstract, trait-like reason to categorise their ethnic identity.

The development of ethnic identity in children is also supported by a further study conducted with 150 children aged five, seven and nine years in order to examine the development of their ethnic attitudes (Nesdale, Durkin, Maass, & Griffiths, 2004). The children were assigned to a random team in terms of their drawing capabilities (higher and lower drawing capability) rather than their social status (the same and different ethnicities). The children were rated according to their similarities and preference to the in-group and the out-group, and the extent to which they wished to change group. The results reveal that children's positive attitude toward the in-group is not affected by age and out-group ethnicity. With age, their positive attitude towards the out-group increases, and this is more so for the same, rather than different, ethnic groups. This study supports SIDT and contributes to the development of children's ethnic identity.

The identification of nationality develops through the course of childhood and adolescence (Barrett, 2007). Existing research indicates that the development of children's sense of national identity becomes evident at about five years old, when they develop the ability to state the name of their country (Barrett, 1996, 2005). During middle childhood, children increasingly extend their knowledge about their own country and by the age of ten, are capable of describing a number of characteristics they attribute to their own nationality (Barrett, 2005). Children's knowledge about other countries begins to develop from the age of five years, and the acquisition and elaboration of the beliefs, habits and lifestyle of other countries grows in middle childhood (for further information, see Chapter 5, section 5.1.1).

This development of children's attitudes towards national identity and intergroup is evidenced by experimental studies. These include an extensive research study on the development of national identification and attitudes, with children and adolescents living in the following countries: England; Scotland; Catalonia; the Basque Country; Andalusia; Italy; Russia; Ukraine; Georgia and Azerbaijan (Barrett, Riazanova, & Volovikova, 2001; Barrett, 2007). The study revealed that children frequently establish their national identification from about six years old. This result is in line with the development of children's national identity (Barrett, 2005). Apart from revealing the developmental change of national identification among children,

Barrett et al.'s (2001) study also contributes to knowledge of the development of children's intergroup attitudes from different nations. The study demonstrates that children develop their attitudes towards other national groups according to a standard pattern. As they grow older, children develop their attitudes towards national identity in a variety of ways. These include: positive; negative; no change; from positive to negative; from negative to positive. In addition, the study emphasises that children's development of national identification is influenced by the social context. Relevant social contexts include: home location and relation to a specific national group; the language of education; parents' discourse and practice; the school attended, including the content of textbooks and the attitudes of teachers; mass media, and community. Overall, Barrett et al.'s (2001) study indicates that children's development of national identity changes according to age and social context.

A series of studies presented in a special issue of the *European Journal of Developmental Psychology* in 2011, examined national identity and in-group / out-group attitudes in children aged seven and eleven years old. The children studied were from countries that have not experienced violence or conflict in recent years (England and the Netherlands), and countries subject to conflict, violence or warfare (Basque Country; Bosnia, Northern and Southern Cyprus; Northern Ireland; and Israel) (Oppenheimer, Louis, & Barrett, 2011). The special issue presented many studies including the following: developmental changes of English children's attitudes towards their own national identification and other national out-groups (German, French and Dutch) (Clay & Barrett, 2011); national identity and in-group/out-group attitudes with Bosniak and Serbian children living in Bosnia (Oppenheimer & Midzic, 2011); Catholic and Protestant children in Northern Ireland (Gallagher & Cairns, 2011); Turkish-Cypriot children (Mertan, 2011); Greek-Cypriot children (Stavrinides & Georgious, 2011), Basque and Basque-Spanish children growing up in the Basque Country (Reizabal & Oritiz, 2011). Results of these studies demonstrate that the development of intergroup attitudes and children's national identification differs between nations, being largely determined by specific socio-historical contexts within which the children develop (Oppenheimer, et al., 2011).

In summary: section 1.3 highlighted the development aspects of children's social, ethnic, national and racial identities. CDT (Aboud, 1988, 2008) and SIDT (Nesdale, 2004, 2008) predict the different patterns of children's development of intergroup attitudes. Ethnic, national and racial identities develop between childhood and adolescence. Experimental studies reveal factors influencing the development of national and ethnic identification are dependent on social context (Barrett et al., 2001; Oppenheimer et al., 2011). The role of social context in influencing children's social identity will be discussed in the following section (section 1.4).

## **1.4 Social Context Influences on Children's Social Identity**

In the previous section, experimental studies indicate that the development of children's ethnic and national identity varies across age and social context (Oppenheimer et al., 2011). In a multicultural society, feelings and attitudes are mutually developed by different ethnic and cultural groups sharing the same space (Lo Coco, Inguglia, & Pace, 2005). It is therefore important to understand children's social identity within a wider social context. This has two aspects (Umaña-Taylor & Shin, 2007). One refers to children participating in a specific task, the other to their historical and cultural circumstances. Rarely explored, however, is the importance of social context in influencing children's development of ethnic identity and national identity, along with the attitudes of individuals towards social identity and social categorisation within the social context (Hogg & Smith, 2007). In the following sections, the societal-social-cognitive motivational theory (SSCMT) (Barrett, 2007), which examines different integrated social contextual factors that influence children's intergroup attitudes, will be reviewed (section 1.4.1). In addition, socialisation theory concerning the influence of families in shaping children's identity (Hughes et al., 2006) will be discussed (section 1.4.2).

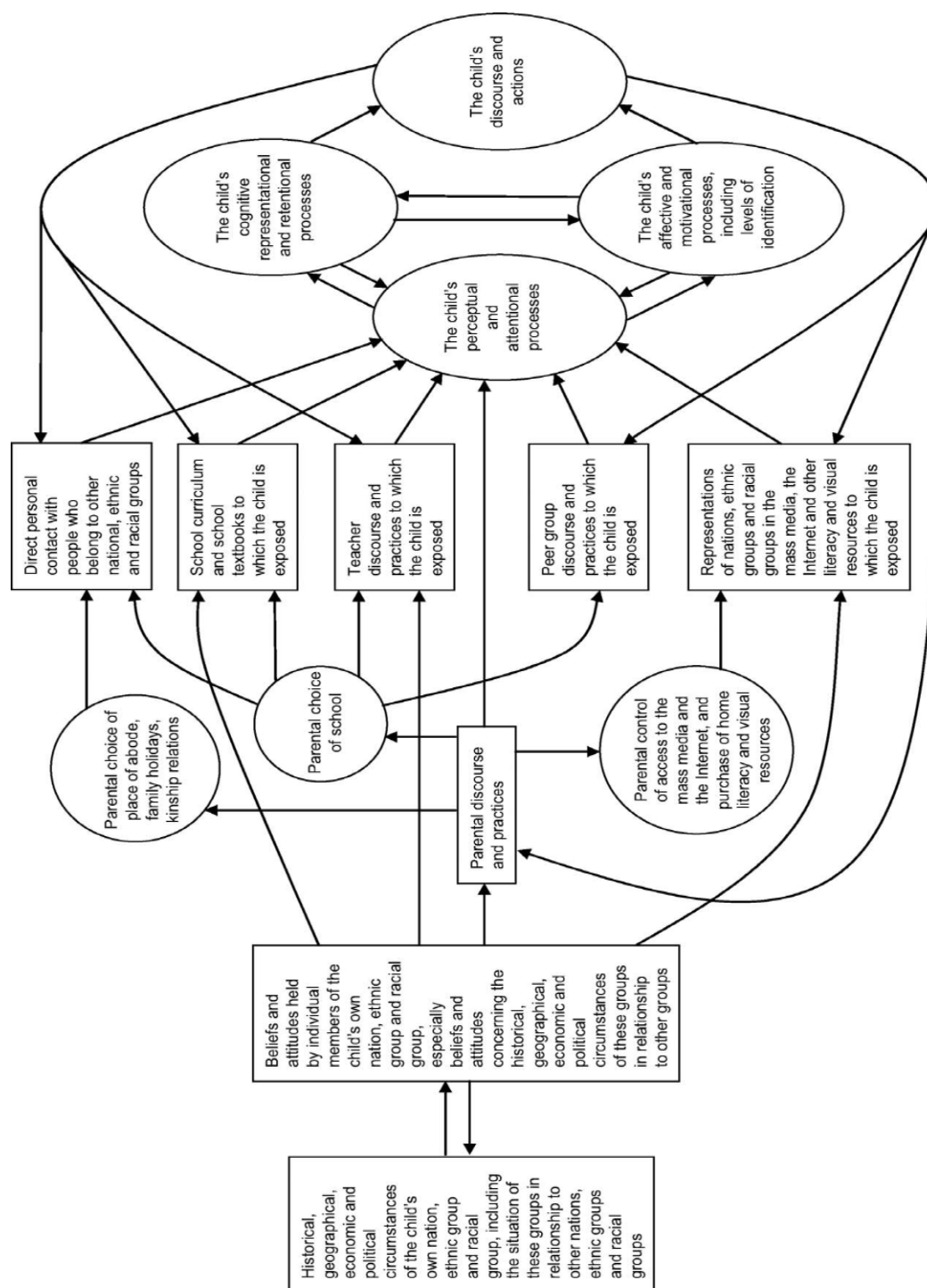
### **1.4.1 Societal-Social-Cognitive Motivational Theory (SSCMT)**

Societal-Social-Cognitive Motivational Theory is put forward by Barrett (2007). Unlike CDT (Aboud, 1988; 2008) (section 1.3.1) and SIDT (Nesdale, 2004, 2008) (section 1.3.2), which predict the development model of in-group and out-group attitudes, SSCMT focuses on establishing a framework integrating the factors

influencing children's intergroup attitudes. The SSCMT framework is illustrated in figure 1.1. SSCMT is generated from observations of children developing in a society with specific historical, geographical and economic environments.

This theory presents the social context factors influencing children's inter-group attitudes. First of all, SSCMT proposes that parents' discourse and actions can directly and indirectly influence children's beliefs and attitudes (Barrett, 2007). For example, the parents' decision on where the family lives influences their children's contact with other national, ethnic and racial groups. The parents' decision on which school the children attend influences the child's educational experience, determining their exposure to educational content, teaching staff and pupils. SSCMT argues that some factors (such as teachers' and peer groups' discourse and practices; school curriculum and mass media), may also influence the development of intergroup attitudes. These factors influence children's perception, and, in turn, are influenced by children's own perceptions. Different social environmental contexts may therefore influence children differently, depending on their own psychological characteristics.

Figure 1.1 Societal-Social-Cognitive-Motivation Theory (SSCMT) (adapted from Barrett, 2007)



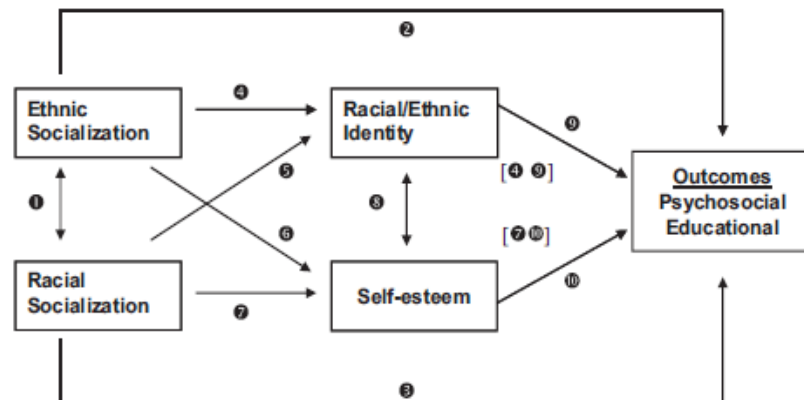
### **1.4.2 Parents' influence on children's ethnic identity**

Socialisation theory emphasises that parents play a role in influencing children's formation of ethnic identity and related outcomes (Hughes, Rodriguez, Smith, Johnson, Stevenson & Pricer, 2006). Parents' socialisation in regards to ethnicity is recognised to help children's development and wellbeing, due to children from ethnic minority groups reportedly encountering greater discrimination and racial barriers (Hughes et al., 2006). Parents' socialisation refers to parenting practices, alongside parents teaching their children about their racial or ethnic heritage and history, promoting cultural customs and traditions and deliberately or implicitly promoting cultural, racial and ethnic pride (Hughes, Bachman, Ruble, & Fuligni, 2006). This includes: talking about important and historical figures; exposing children to culturally relevant books, music and stories; celebrating cultural holidays; eating ethnic food, and encouraging children to use ethnic languages.

Rodriguez, Umaña-Taylor, Smith and Johnson. (2009) summarise the findings from seven studies concerning the issue of racial-ethnic socialisation, identity and youth outcomes (Hughes, Witherspoon, Rivas-Drake, & West-Bey, 2009; Murry, Berkel, Brody, Miller, & Chen, 2009; Stevenson & Arrington, 2009; Kim & Chao, 2009; Seaton, 2009; Whitesell & Mitchell, 2009; Smith, Levine, Smith, Dumas, & Prinz, 2009). The studies test theoretical models of direct and indirect relationships between ethnic-racial socialisation in different ethnic minority groups and psychological/educational outcomes, through the effect of ethnic identity and self-esteem. The hypothesised model is displayed in figure 1.2. The studies collectively suggest that ethnic-racial socialisation is associated with psychological and academic outcomes through the indirect effects of ethnic-racial identity and self-esteem.



**Figure 1.2 The relationship between socialisation, social identity and self-esteem (reproduced from Hughes et al. (2009))**



Sabatier (2008) examines the roles of social context and the influence of families on children's ethnic identity in a study of 365 second generation immigrant adolescents in France. This study measures cultural identity in two orientations (ethnic and national) within two components (affirmation and exploration). In addition, the study interviewed 365 mothers and 292 fathers. Based on an ecological model of development (Bronfenbrenner, 1992) and acculturation (Berry, 2001, 2006), this study explores differing aspects of social context and their influences. Included are: socialisation with peers (the ethnic composition of school and friends); relationships with parents based on the parents' report on ethnic/national enculturation practices and parental styles; and the perception of discrimination. Ethnic and national affirmations are found to possess two independent orientations. Regression analysis reveals the predominant explanation of variance is the relationship of parents to their children. This is followed by parents' enculturation practice, followed by perceived discrimination, and finally school and peer influences. The study also reveals that parents are an important factor in contributing to children's development of ethnic and national identity. For this reason, the current study also considers the influence of parents on immigrant children's ethnic identity (for more details, see Chapter 6, Study 3).

## **1.5 Conclusion**

Chapter One introduced three theoretical backgrounds related to the thesis. Firstly, it considered social identity theory (section 1.2), including: SIT (Tajfel, 1978); SCT (Turner et al., 1987); ethnic, national and racial identities; and the relationship between social identity and self-esteem. Secondly, developmental perspectives of social identity were reviewed (section 1.3): including CDT (Aboud, 1988, 2008); SIDT (Nesdale, 2004, 2008); development of ethnic, national, and racial identities. Thirdly, social context influences on children's social identity were discussed (section 1.4): including SSCMT (Barrett, 2007) and the role of parents in influencing children's development of ethnic identity.

Developmental research on social identity has been limited in a number of ways. Firstly, most empirical research concerning social identity and self-esteem is focused on ethnic identity and self-esteem, with a focus on comparative studies between the very specific groupings of African American children and European American children (Phinney, 1992). However, the relationship between social identity and self-esteem may differ by ethnicity or culture (Tashakkori, 1993). There is a requirement to establish whether the relationship of social identity and self-esteem can be generalised to other ethnic groups. Secondly, most comparative studies of ethnic identity of immigrant individuals use samples from ethnic minority group members and majority people from the host country. Studies are lacking when it comes to comparing ethnic minority children with children from the parents' countries of origin. Finally, most studies focus on comparing ethnic attitudes between groups and any relationship between them, without considering other factors that influence the formation of an individual's social identity and self-esteem, such as family and social context. Considering these limitations, the thesis will investigate the development of social identity and self-esteem among Mainland Chinese, Hong Kong Chinese, BBC and Scottish children across the ages of eight, eleven and fourteen years. It will also take into account the influence of parents on children's ethnic identity. As Tashakkori (1993) points out, investigating social identity and self-esteem cannot be considered without awareness of culture and ethnicity. Therefore, the next literature

review chapter (Chapter Two) will present the development of identity amongst children in different cross-cultural contexts.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **STUDYING CHINESE AND SCOTTISH CHILDREN IN DIFFERENT SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXTS**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

The previous chapter addressed social identity, the developmental theories of social identity, as well as the influence of social contexts on the formation of social identity. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a more detailed overview of the research relating to a child's development of social identity within the four cultural contexts included in this doctoral research. The research that forms this thesis compares the social identity of BBC children with that of three other groups of children: Mainland Chinese children and Hong Kong Chinese children (all of whom are being raised in the country of origin of the parents) as well as white Scottish children (all of whom have grown up in the same social environment as BBC children). These four distinct social groups are influenced by various cultural contexts: Mainland Chinese children are influenced by traditional Chinese culture, Hong Kong Chinese children are influenced by a hybrid of both Eastern and Western cultural influences, BBC children are influenced by the dual culture of a Chinese family context within the broader UK society, and white Scottish children are influenced by the UK's Western culture.

The purpose of this chapter is to review the studies carried out on social identity in these four different cultures, thus setting the cultural context of the studies outlined in this thesis. The following section will begin by highlighting the impact of culture on identity development. The review will then focus on the role of one's social context and culture in shaping social identity. Firstly, the formation of BBC children's social identity in terms of immigrant history, the mobility of identity among the younger generation of BBC children, and the immigrant parents' acculturation attitudes will be reviewed. Secondly, the review will focus on white Scottish children, who share similar social contexts with the BBC children. SIT and the studies of development of intergroup attitudes are based on Western literature. Therefore, social cultural contexts of Scotland and experimental studies related to

the development of white Scottish children's social identity will be elaborated on. Thirdly, the socio and cultural environment of Hong Kong and the differentiation between Hong Kong and China, and how this might influence Hong Kong children's identity will be illustrated. Finally, the way traditional Chinese culture, values and contemporary Chinese social contexts influence and construct Mainland Chinese children's social identity is focused upon.

## **2.2 Cross cultural comparison studies**

Culture as a term, has been broadly defined by anthropologists and sociologists (Miller-Loessi & Parker, 2006). D'Andrade (1995) defined "culture as the entire social heritage of a group, including material culture and external structures, learned actions, and mental representations of many kinds" (p. 212). Cross-cultural comparisons refer to the process of comparing cultural differences and similarities (Stewart & Bennett, 2005). Miller-Loessi and Parker (2006) proposed several reasons for taking a cross-cultural approach in social-psychological research. Firstly, with the advent of globalisation, cross-cultural boundaries are decreased, and different cultures engaging in society become more visible. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the differences between cultures in order to cope with these changes. Secondly, most social psychological studies are conducted exclusively with participant samples in the West, so comparative studies that include research based in the East will help to address any cultural bias within psychological theory. Thirdly, comparative studies will help us to confirm whether the established theories of developmental social psychology can be generalised for different cultural groups.

Culture is an important influence on child development (Calzada, Brotman, Huang, Bat-Chava, & Kingston, 2009). Identity formation occurs throughout a child's development, but the shaping of a child's development may vary across cultures (Phinney & Baldelomar, 2011). According to Erikson (1968), the process of achieving an identity is located "in the core of the individual and yet also in the core of his communal culture" (p. 22). Erikson (1968) stressed that an individual's development of identity is influenced by their cultural context. Shweder et al.

(2007) stated that the formation of a child's identity could result from the interplay between developmental and cultural factors. Therefore, research on identity formation that does not consider the wider social contexts, is open to criticism (Bosma & Kunnen, 2001; Levine & Cote, 2002). As reviewed in Chapter 1 (section 1.4.1), SSCMT claimed that children's development of social identity and intergroup attitudes are influenced by various social contexts (Barrett, 2007). There is increasing acknowledgement of the importance of social contexts in the developmental process (Phinney & Baldelomar, 2011). Bronfenbrenner (1979) raised awareness of different levels of cultural and social influence on child development. For example, in a primary developmental social context, children can observe and participate in activities, jointly with persons who possess similar knowledge, or with individuals who are able develop strong relationships with children. In a secondary developmental social context, the children were given the opportunity and resources to independently participate in activities using the skills and knowledge they learned through the primary developmental social context. The impact of a third party, whereby the third party participates in an activity may have a positive or negative impact on the interaction of the children. Interconnection between settings, means that the child rearing setting is linked to other settings and social contexts involved in childcare. School has been considered as another factor in influencing child development. However, although highly influential, Bronfenbrenner's model is criticised for paying too little attention to the interactions among contexts (Goodnow & Jensen, 2011). Baumeister and Muraven (1996) reversed the emphasis by suggesting that the identity formation of adolescents is a way to adapt to social, historical and cultural contexts, indicating that identity emerges from these inter-connected influences. Hammack (2008) similarly emphasised that the construction of identity can be conceived as taking place through social interaction and practice, with a personal narrative that changes throughout the course of life, shaped by cultural, cognitive and social factors.

One important variable in cultural differences is the distinction between collectivism (COL) and individualism (IND) (Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988). COL and IND present different worldviews (Oyserman, Coon, &

Kemmelmeyer, 2002). The core distinction between IND and COL is that IND assumes that individuals are independent from each other, whereas with COL the assumption is that individuals are connected to each other (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002). According to Markus and Kitayama (1991), people in different cultures have a different construal of self, others and the interdependence of the two. Social scientists assume that IND is more prevalent in industrial Western societies, which seek to maintain the independence of the individual through discovering and expressing a unique inner attribute of one's self, whereas COL is more evident in Asian societies, which emphasise, attending to others, fitting in, and creating harmonious relationships with others (Kitayama, Markus, Matsumoto, & Norasakkunkit, 1997). Therefore, usually when comparing Western and Eastern (in particular Eastern Asian) cultural frames, IND is assumed as a concept opposite to COL (Chan, 1994). However, there is a lack of empirical studies to validate this cultural frame between COL and IND. There is one study that evaluates the difference between COL and IND by using meta-analyses (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002). The study examined the differences between COL and IND within the United States (comparing European American with African and Latino American) and cross-nationally (comparing European American with Japanese, Korean and Chinese) from the perspective of self-concept, wellbeing, cognition and reliability. The study revealed that the European American group was found to be more individualistic than the Asian groups but this was not noted when comparing them to the fellow American groups; the findings also showed this group to be no less collectivistic than the Japanese or Korean groups. Therefore, it can be said that the European American group are individual but also strongly relational. Only the Chinese sample showed significant differences in terms of being more collectivistic and less individualistic than the European Americans.

A number of cross-cultural studies have found evidence of differences in identity formation between individual and collective cultures of adults. A study was conducted to examine identity formation with 275 Taiwanese and 171 white American University students, aged between 18-24 years old (Cheng, 2004). The

study implemented the following measures: The Extended Objective Measure of Ego-Identity Status (Bennion & Adams, 1986), Rosenberg's Self-esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965), Trait anxiety Inventory (Spielberger, Vagg, Barker, Donham, & Westberry, 1980), Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985), and a new scale assessing identity authenticity (Cheng, 2004). The study revealed that culture and gender are two of the main factors that influence adults' development of identity. Being individualist or collectivist was found to influence the participants' identity formation and could co-exist. Taiwanese culture placed more emphasis on interpersonal issues, whereas American culture placed a greater emphasis on ideological issues. Interpersonal issues were more important for women than for men, while ideological issues were more important for men than for women. Identity achievement was also found to be a predictor to psychological wellbeing in this research. American participants scored higher in identity achievement, while the Taiwanese participants' identity achievement was influenced by cultural values. This study indicated that there is not a simple contrast between IND and COL, and that gender also plays an important role in influencing the formation of identity. Although this study demonstrated that cultural differences can influence adults' formation of identity, very little empirical study has been done to examine social identity across different cultural contexts amongst children.

The current study aims to examine the social identity of children from both collective and individual cultures. However, this is challenging in terms of the methods used in conducting cross-cultural identity studies. Some researchers have suggested the use of culture-sensitive, open-ended, and interpretive methods (Wang, 2004). This would allow the participants to "generate their own self-descriptions, using their own vocabularies and guided by their unique perspectives on themselves" (Hart & Edelstein, 1992, p. 304). This has been found to be effective when investigating cultural variation in children's self-constructs (Wang, 2004; Wang, Leichtman, & Davies, 2000). For example, a comparative study was conducted with 96 children and adolescents aged between 6-16 years-old, in an industrialised city in the United States ( $M=10.6$ ,  $SD=2$ ) and a small community



oriented, fishing village in Puerto Rico ( $M=10.6$ ,  $SD=24$ ) (Hart, Lucca-Irizarry, & Damon, 1986). This study applied an open-ended format when asking participants to respond to questions like “what kind of person are you?” The findings showed that children from Puerto Rico more frequently describe themselves in relationship to others (e.g. “I have a brother”), whereas the American children tried to focus on their individual qualities (e.g. “I am a happy person”). Similarly, the current study also uses an open-ended format, to explore children’s ideas relating to their identity (see Chapter 4, “Who am I” self-description questionnaire).

In summary, cultural context is considered to be an important factor in influencing children’s development (Calzada et al., 2009). Cross-cultural comparative studies provide useful information to help us understand children’s identity development across cultures. However, most current comparative studies are based on adults and the comparison is based on European Americans (Oyserman et al., 2002). We know little of children’s identity formation across various cultures, especially for children who come from a hybrid culture background. Considering these limitations, the current study will explore children’s development of social identity in specific countries or regions, which represent different levels of exposure to Eastern and Western cultures. Therefore, in the following sections, the social and cultural context of BBC children, white Scottish children, Hong Kong Chinese children and Mainland Chinese children will be presented in order to give an overview of contextual factors that may influence the development of a child’s social identity.

### **2.3 British born Chinese children (BBC)**

In this section, research focusing on “the Chinese in Britain” will be briefly reviewed. A small, but growing number of studies have begun to examine children’s Chinese ethnicity in the UK. This research reveals that there is a growing interest in British Chinese experiences, and the uniqueness of British Chinese, presents a fertile ground for research. The current study is taking social and cultural background into account in order to investigate the identity of BBC children and factors that contribute to their identity.

### **2.3.1 Existing research in the British Chinese population**

There are six main researchers who are leading the study of Chinese people in Britain. David Parker and Miri Song's work on issues of race and identity, constructed from the perspective of sociology (Parker & Song, 2006, 2007). Archer and Francis's work sits within the educationalist community, referencing issues of racism, the construction of learner identities, and relationships between parents, teachers, and pupils (Archer & Francis, 2007). Research work carried out by Chan and Chan focuses on racism in planning and British society (Chan & Chan, 1997). Research from different disciplines can provide a broad view of the British Chinese population's education, values and attitudes toward their identity. These works also identify some challenges faced by BBC youth, such as confusion of dual identities. However, there is a lack of studies that investigate ethnic minority children's social identity from a developmental and psychology perspective, particularly in relation to BBC children. In order to have a full picture of BBC children's social identity development, the following section will give an account of BBC children's identity formation from the perspectives of British Chinese social history, the association with British and Chinese communities in society, and parents' acculturation attitudes in influencing the children's development of identity.

### **2.3.2 History of Chinese migration to the UK**

The history of Chinese migration to Britain can be traced back for at least 150 years (Chan, Cole, & Bowpitt, 2007). There have been several waves of Chinese migration to the UK. The first wave began in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The first settlement of Chinese people lived in the port cities, such as Liverpool and London. The largest wave of Chinese immigrants occurred during 1950-1960. Many people came from Hong Kong and were employed in Chinese restaurants and laundries. The more recent migrants have come to the UK for education and professional purposes (Chan & Chan, 1997; Chan, Cole, & Bowpitt, 2007).

Along with differences across the migration waves, there is a variation in ethnic and linguistic groupings, such as the variation in country of origin, including Hong Kong, Mainland China, Vietnam and Malaysia. There is also a variation in

language, so that Cantonese, Mandarin, Hakka and other Chinese dialects have been brought to the UK (Liu, 2005). In terms of location, Chinese people are present across the UK (Chan, Cole & Bowpitt, 2007). Although numbers tend to be larger around the big cities, such as London and Manchester, overall they have remained largely dispersed due to their economic focus in the Chinese food market, therefore dispersion across cities, towns and rural areas means less competition (Chau & Sam, 2001).

### **2.3.3 British Chinese and BBC children**

According to the UK census 2001 (Office for National Statistics, 2006), there are over 400,000 people of Chinese origin in the UK. The concerns of immigrant Chinese are different to those of second generation Chinese. To Chinese immigrants in Britain, social inclusion and exclusion issues are important. Chinese people occupy one of Britain's highest-earning groups (Song, 2010). According to Parker and Song (2007), the unemployment rate for Chinese men is only 6%, which is similar to that of white British men. In addition, Chinese people in Britain are also considered to be an unproblematic group in society. Therefore, British Chinese are assumed to have successfully integrated into British society. However, some other scholars present a different view. Chinese people in Britain have been perceived as socially excluded, as they are not active in politics and public activities (Chau & Sam, 2001). According to Chan et al. (2007), Chinese people in the UK lack a sense of social equality and acceptance, have a negative response to racial attacks, and lack knowledge of social systems. The 'social exclusion' of Chinese people in Britain is considered to be a result of their economic reliance on takeaway and restaurant businesses (market niche) and the lack of opportunities elsewhere in Britain (market discrimination). In addition, it is proposed that the social exclusion of Chinese people in Britain is related to an arduous life style and the barriers created by not speaking fluent English. These factors make information dissemination difficult and prevent Chinese people from accessing wider public resources when they are in need (Chan et al., 2007).

Despite the British Chinese being considered as having a disadvantageous status as a minority ethnic group, within the British education system BBC children have been described as high achievers (Archer & Francis, 2007). For instance, GCSE results for 2010/2011 show that BBC children outperformed children from other ethnic groups (Shepherd & Evans, 2012). Furthermore, over 90% BBC children continue in to full time, post compulsory, education (Owen, 1994), and are more likely than other ethnic groups in Britain to enter higher education (Gillborn & Gipps, 1996). A Chinese family's value of education is considered to be an important contributing factor to the academic achievement of BBC children in the UK (Francis & Archer, 2005). A study using semi-structured interviews was conducted with 80 BBC children (years 10 and 11 of secondary school) and 30 parents, to explore children's and parents' views of education (Francis & Archer, 2005). The study found that Chinese people's value of education is "exceptionally high" (p.104). Parents show strong commitment to furthering their children's education through sending them to complementary schools and paying for extra tuition to supplement their education. The study concluded that the high achievements of BBC children are associated with their social class mobility. However, the academic success story of BBC children cannot be simply interpreted as BBC children having a positive outlook of themselves.

#### **2.3.4 Insights into identity of BBC adolescents through new media**

The recent collaborative work of Parker and Song about the emergence of British Chinese websites, suggests that there is a new mobility of British Chinese adolescents and young adults exploring their identity (Parker & Song, 2006, 2007). The emergence of two British Chinese websites "britishchineseonline.com" and "DimSum.co.uk" illustrate the way in which an emerging second generation of BBC, who are capable in English, are using Internet forums to express their views towards their identities. The online activities and social networks enhance the connection of British born Chinese, engendering vigorous debates about their experience of being Chinese in Britain, as well as their belonging and inclusion within British society (Parker & Song, 2007). The debates about "inclusion and exclusion, citizenship, participation and the development of a sense of belonging in

Britain” help BBC young people to explore their social identities (p. 1057). From the discussion on these websites, the sense of belonging is becoming a central concern for the BBC adolescents (Parker & Song, 2009).

Another theme emerging from the online discussions was the second generation of British Chinese’s attachment to their homelands. In the context of globalisation, BBC children today are able to maintain a variety of transnational ties with Mainland and Hong Kong China (Parker & Song, 2009). The mass media (such as TV, internet) provide a great deal of information to BBC children and young people about traditional Chinese culture and Mainland China. The other possibility is travelling to China. Many second-generation Chinese migrants’ children have the opportunity to go back to their ancestral homes and visit relatives for holidays in order to learn about Chinese culture and language (Parker & Song, 2009). From the discussions on Chinese websites, it appears that an increasing number of BBC children and young people value their “Chineseness” and show sympathy toward their Chinese roots with the resurgence of China in the western world (Parker & Song, 2009).

During Internet discussions, BBC young adults reassess their own identities and loyalties between China and the wider society (Song, 2010). The content of their discussions shows that ethnic identity is important to BBC young adults and that self-recognition of their identity depends on social contexts as well as an attachment to their home countries (Parker & Song, 2007, 2009). A new sense of identity is being expressed and explored through online discourse. Some Chinese website users have suggested rethinking their Chinese identity in the British context, which goes beyond the representation of both the Chinese and British to create a new culture which belongs specifically to BBCs (Parker & Song, 2007). The old values in regards to their identity are either maintaining loyalty to their own culture or embracing the Western culture in which they are immersed. However, the new mobility of identity is supporting traditional cultural values alongside the Western culture and creating a unique BBC culture. The ‘new ethnicities’ is combination of two identities, which creates a new culture

specifically fitted to their individual identity. In a word, the new identity of the second generation British Chinese is shaped by cultural orientation to both Chinese and British culture. However, discussions within the two British Chinese websites are mainly made up of BBC young adults. We know little about what BBC children think of themselves or how their social identity and self-esteem develop with age. Therefore, the current study will explore the development of BBC children's social identity using the theoretical frameworks reviewed in Chapter 1.

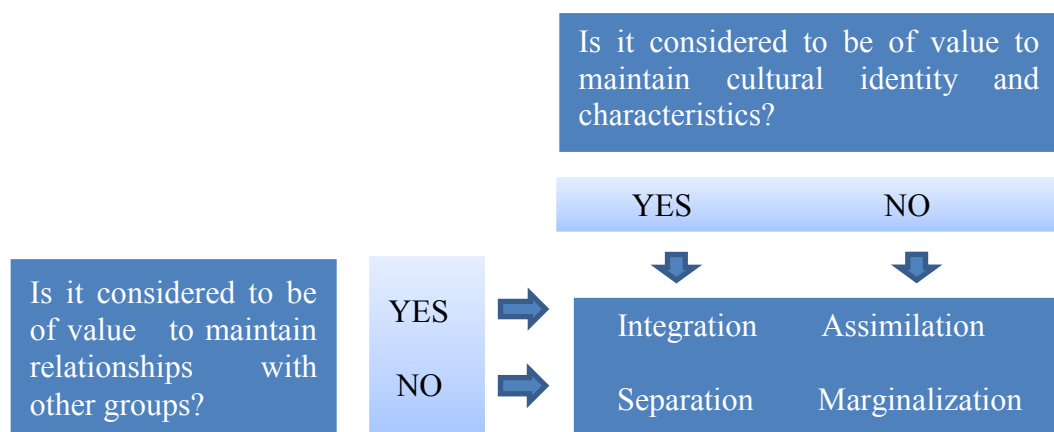
### **2.3.5 Acculturation and the adaptation of BBC children**

Like many immigrant families, Chinese families coming to Scotland experience cultural adaptation, including acculturation and enculturation. Acculturation means adapting to mainstream society and enculturation means maintaining the culture of origin (Berry, 2009). Adaptation is a term used to refer to the strategies employed during the process of acculturation and its outcomes. Different strategies lead to different outcomes of adaptations. Although it was originally believed that migration inevitably led to psychological and social problems, it later became evident that migration outcomes range from very positive to very negative depending on a variety of characteristics relating to individuals and groups (Berry, 2009).

This study is interested in BBC children's development of social identity, taking into account their parents' acculturation style, and how it might affect their parenting in trying to maintain a connection with China and the Chinese culture for their children. The notion of acculturation "has been viewed as a process in which there is an inverse linear relationship between an individual's involvement with his/her original and host culture" (cited in Kim & Abreu, 2001, p. 397). It has been redefined by Berry (2006) as the process of cultural and psychological change following individuals' incorporation of their beliefs, values and behaviours from the host country to the native country's culture. Cultural changes include a group's customs, economic and political perspectives. Psychological changes include individuals' attitudes towards cultural identities and acculturation (Phinney, 2003). Research conducted with immigrant youths found that they adopted a variety of

strategies in their acculturation process (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). These different strategies have been described as assimilation, integration, marginalisation and separations (AIMS) (Berry & Sabatier, 2010). Assimilation implies little interest in maintaining the original culture, with a preference to interact with the larger society. Integration implies seeking to both maintain one's original culture and also interact with the mainstream society. Marginalisation implies neither interest to cultural maintenance nor interest in having relationships with other groups. Separation implies a focus on cultural maintenance but ignoring interaction with the mainstream society. The table below shows four acculturation strategies and their relationship with two issues (adopted from Berry, 2009).

**Figure 2.1 Four Acculturation Strategies as a function of two issues (adapted from Berry, 2009)**



Empirical studies have revealed a relationship between the approach to acculturation and how well immigrants adapt to a new society (Berry & Sabatier, 2010). There are two dimensions of adapting to acculturation (Ward, 1996). Psychological adaptation refers to personal wellbeing and good mental health. Socio-cultural adaptation means individuals' capability to manage their life in the inter-cultural context. The research suggests that combining the involvement with both national and ethnic cultures will be the most adaptive mode and can contribute to immigrants' wellbeing (Berry, 1997; Berry & Sabatier, 2010). The study examining this relationship involved 718 immigrant adolescents from two countries: Canada and France (Berry & Sabatier, 2010). Participants were asked to fill in a questionnaire and participate in an interview at home. The questionnaire

examined seven aspects including, acculturation attitudes, cultural identity, ethnic behaviours, acculturation orientations, perceived discrimination, self-esteem and academic performances. The results showed that in both countries, higher self-esteem occurred in adolescents who prefer integration, opposed to those who were marginalised. Adolescents who prefer assimilation and separation were recorded as falling in between the two aforementioned categories. This pattern is stronger in Canada than in France, reflecting that differences in social contexts, particularly differential national policies as well as adolescents' discrimination experiences, influence their ways of acculturation.

However, it is worth noting that parents and children from immigrant families, experience the culture of the host country, and the culture of their origin in different ways. Tsai, Ying and Lee (2000) proposed that the meaning of belonging to a particular culture varies within cultural groups. In their questionnaire-based study they compared the meaning of "being Chinese" and "being American" across three groups of Chinese American college students (N=353, mean age=20.23 years): American born Chinese (ABC), immigrant Chinese who arrived in America at 12 years old or earlier, and immigrant Chinese who arrived in America after 12 years of age; they measured this using the General Ethnicity Questionnaire. The results suggested that "being American" and "being Chinese" were unrelated in ABC participants, but negatively related in immigrant Chinese participants. The findings also highlighted that there are two models of acculturation: Bi-dimensional means that individuals are both highly acculturated to their native culture and to their host culture. Uni-dimensional means that if individuals become more acculturated to their host culture, they will become less acculturated to their native culture. In Tsai et al.'s study (2000), ABC youths applied a bi-dimensional model; with the other two groups of immigrant Chinese applying a uni-dimensional model of acculturation. However, the immigrant Chinese's sense of "being Chinese" and "being American" may change throughout the course of their stay in America. In this thesis the General Ethnicity Questionnaire applied by Tsai et al (2000), has been adapted in order to investigate to what extent the parents' acculturation, influences their children's formation of identity (see chapter 6, Study 3).



In conclusion, all the British Chinese research cited, highlights the diversity of the British Chinese community and underlying concerns about racism and inequality (Chau & Sam, 2001). The studies also look at the educational success of BBC children (Francis, Archer, & Mau, 2008, 2009) and a new mobility of second generation of BBC adolescents in realising their identity in the new era (Parker & Song, 2007). In addition, they acknowledge that the acculturation attitudes of the parents of BBC children can influence BBC children's development of ethnic identity. However, two limitations are identified within this field. Firstly, the existing studies of BBC children and adolescents in the UK mainly use qualitative research methods, with most of them using discourse analysis of posts on Internet discussion boards by adolescents and young adults. Secondly, most of the studies discussed above are mainly focused on BBC adolescents and young adults; there is therefore, the need to explore BBC children's social identity development.

## **2.4 Scottish Children**

According to the data that has so far been released from the recent Scottish census 2011 (National Records of Scotland, 2011), the population of Scotland is about 5,295,000, and the population comprises 98% white people and 2% ethnic minority groups. Pakistanis are the largest minority ethnic group (0.63%), followed by Chinese (0.32 %), Indians (0.30 %) and those of mixed ethnic backgrounds (Summary Report, 2012). 'Scottish' has been considered as a separate national identity since the end of the twentieth century (Smout, 1994). Smout (1994) proposed that establishing a sense of Scottish identity as separate from that of a British identity. Scotland has different religious, legal and educational systems than the rest of the UK. According to the census in 2001, 67% of the Scottish population reported having religious beliefs. Among the different religions in Scotland, which include Catholicism and Islam, the biggest religion is the Church of Scotland, making up 42% (Scottish Government, 2001). In terms of the education system, Scotland provides free education to all 5-16 year-olds (Citizens Advice Bureau, 2013). There are three types of schools funded by the Scottish government. They are local schools, schools for pupils with special educational needs, and

denominational schools (Citizens Advice Bureau, 2013). The majority of schools are non-denominational. Scottish pupils receive seven years of primary education followed by six years of secondary education (four of which are compulsory and two years (from 16-18) are optional) (British Council, 2013). In the four years of compulsory education, Scottish pupils work towards their “Standard Grade” or “Intermediate Exams”, in contrast to English pupils who study “GCSE”. After that, Scottish pupils can choose whether they want to remain in secondary school for “Higher” and/or “Advanced Higher” exams. In contrast, English pupils will take “A” and “AS-level” examinations in order to enrol in a University or college.

White Scottish children share similar social contexts with BBC children. However, they are different in race and ethnicity. The research surrounding the development of social identity among children is well established in the UK (Sani & Bennett, 2004). There are also a few studies that particularly focus on Scottish children’s social identity development in comparison with other groups of children (Bennett, Lyons, Sani, & Barrett, 1998). Therefore, in the following section, the social context setting for white Scottish children was taken into consideration using the perspective of the general social identity development literature, as well as the research literature, which particularly focused on the national and ethnic identities of Scottish children.

A recent study addressed self-categorisation by asking 118 children aged 5, 7 and 10 years old, to consider their similarity to and difference from same sex peers in Scotland (Bennett & Sani, 2008). The research was composed of two studies, the first study asked children in all the age groups to consider their similarity to and difference from same sex peers. The data analysis revealed that when gender is salient, children make greater similarity and less difference between themselves and their same sex peers. The second study asked children to attribute traits to themselves under two conditions: gender is salient and gender is not salient. The findings revealed that boys, in all age groups, attributed more in-group characteristics, for example bravery and strength when gender was salient than when it was not. But no differences were found amongst girls in attributing traits

between the two conditions. Overall, the study found that young children categorised themselves to gender groups. They attributed greater similarity to their same sex peers than to that of peers of opposite sex, they were also capable of making stereotypes of themselves in terms of gender. This study made two suggestions for future research. Firstly, future research should examine the extent to which the specific identity is internalised. Secondly, it should explore extensively the relationship between social identity and social context.

The most recent and widely used measure to examine children's social identity and intergroup attitudes is the "card-attribution task" (Barrett et al., 1997). This asks children to assign positive and negative adjectives to the in-groups and comparative out-groups. The measurement was generated from multi-national studies conducted by Barrett et al. (1997) with 1700 children age 6, 9, 12 and 15 years old, living in England, Scotland, Catalonia, Southern Spain and Italy. Each group of children were asked to assign adjective cards to their own national groups, as well as a number of other groups. The findings showed that in-group favouritism differs by different national groups in different national contexts. Developmental patterns are varied in different national contexts. For example, the study showed that Italian children exhibited in-group favouritism at 6 years old, whereas the Scottish children showed the in-group favouritism at 15 years old. The different findings illustrated that children's in-group bias is different across the nations. However, no study up to this point has used this measurement to examine ethnic Chinese children's developmental evaluation of in-group and out-groups.

In terms of examining Scottish children's developing understanding of social identity, a study involving more than 250 Scottish children (aged 5, 8, 11 and 14 years) and adults, explored children's and adults' identification with different social groups, including both in-groups and out-groups (Sani & Bennett, 2004). The participants were presented with cards; each card represented a specific social identity, such as child, adult, boys, girls, Scottish, English, White, Black, and so on. The participants were asked to select the cards that described them and then rank them in order of importance to them. Furthermore, concerning the two most

important identities, the children and adults were asked: “what are [boys/children/Scottish people/etc.] like?” “What do [.....] do?” “What do [.....] want?” “what do [.....] believe?” to explore the different age groups’ understandings of social identities. The answers were then content analysed. The analysis showed that younger children perceived social identity as, primarily depending on group members’ behaviours and dispositional attributes. However, the role of shared beliefs in social identity was not recognised until later in childhood and adolescence. The study’s findings contribute to the development of children’s understanding of social identities, and could be generalised from Scottish children to other national populations. Considering the developmental changes of children’s social identity, as evidenced in the previous studies, the current study explored children’s development of social identity across four cultural groups, with three specific age groups; 8, 11 and 14 years of age.

An important developmental study, conducted with 459 British children (including 220 Scottish and 239 English) from four age groups (6, 9, 12 and 15 years-old) (Bennett et al., 1998) was designed to examine children’s feelings and beliefs about their own and other national groups. This research comprised of three small studies. The first study was an open-ended task. Children were presented with 15 cards, which could be used to describe people, 7 of which consisted of a nationality (Scottish, English, British and four European nationalities), two the cities of residence of the sample, two genders, and the four ages of the sample. Children were asked to identify the cards that could be used to describe themselves and also identify one card that was the most important to them. The second task was a forced choice task. This task was used to assess the extent of children’s identification to being British, Scottish or English. The third task was an adjective card-sorting task. Children were asked to evaluate their own groups with the other national groups: British, Italian, French, German, Spanish, English and Scottish. The study showed that national identification with the group is not necessarily associated to in-group favouritism. Many children who failed to identify themselves as a member of the national group still showed preference for their own national group rather than the out-groups. In terms of English and Scottish

identification, children were found to have more positive attitudes towards their own groups than to the out-groups. The authors concluded that merely being exposed to positive information about one's own national group in daily life is enough to prompt a preference for that group, before a sense of national identity develops.

The research presented above, regarding social identity development among Scottish children, proposed that children's development of social identity and intergroup attitudes changes across the age groups. However, little is known of whether this social identity development and intergroup relationship development pattern can be generated to ethnic minority groups of children in Scotland. The current study adopted some of these tasks to examine BBC children's ethnic and national identities, as well as Scottish children's attitudes towards in-groups and out-groups, such as rating the level of national identity and the trait adjective tasks (Bennett et al., 1998) (see Chapter 5).

## **2.5 Children in Hong Kong**

This section will review the identity of children who have grown up in Hong Kong. Despite the shared ethnicity, Hong Kong people may be considered as a distinct social group from the Mainland Chinese group (Chiu & Hong, 1999). There is very limited literature that has explored Hong Kong Chinese children's social identity development. Therefore, this section attempts to understand Hong Kong Chinese children's social identity from the East/West hybrid social context of Hong Kong, as well as the differentiations between Hong Kong Chinese and Mainland Chinese. Firstly historical and economic factors contribute to the uniqueness of Hong Kong peoples' identity, making it distinct from the Chinese peoples' identity. Secondly, the current governmental policy practice implemented in Hong Kong makes the distinction between Hong Kong and Mainland China as pronounced as ever. Thirdly, the main language in Hong Kong is Cantonese whereas Mainland Chinese speak Mandarin, thus the different language spoken in Hong Kong functions as a marker of identity (Chiu & Hong, 1999).

Hong Kong was occupied as a British Colony from 1843 to 1997. Colonialism and the impending decolonisation of Hong Kong have inevitably been major influences on its history, policy and economic prosperity (Chiu & Hong, 1999). During this period, Hong Kong was exposed to minimal government intervention under the ethos of positive non-interventionism during the colonial era (Constitutional and Mainland Chinese Bureau, 2013) and Hong Kong was influenced by the more democratic culture of the Western world. As a consequence, the idea of political liberalism developed a high profile in Hong Kong (Gransow, 1995).

After the Chinese government declared the restoration of Hong Kong sovereignty from 1 July 1997, Hong Kong became a special administrative region in China, in terms of its independent legislative system and high degree of freedom of autonomy (Constitutional and Mainland Chinese Bureau, 2013). The modernity of Hong Kong alongside the maintenance of a traditional Chinese culture has influenced the unique culture of Hong Kong, and it has been widely described as “East meets West” (Chan, 2000). Nevertheless, Hong Kong has changed its role from an energetic paragon of the virtues of capitalism into a part of the largest Communist Country in the world. As a result of this political change, the Hong Kong people became increasingly aware of their identity crisis (Leung & Lee, 2006). The identity dilemma is focused on the tension between an increasing connectedness to the Chinese identity and maintaining the distinctive Hong Kong identity. A survey to examine Hong Kong people’s national identity in 2004 revealed that Hong Kong people’s national identity is divided into two clusters (Leung & Lee, 2006). Cluster one comprises of younger people (age below 40), locally born and well educated. The cluster two comprises of all the other groups. In the cluster one group, 74% of Hong Kong people perceive themselves as Chinese, but only 53% of them see themselves as a Chinese citizen, and 49% respect Chinese political and legal systems. However, in cluster two, only 21% have a feeling of being Chinese, 12% a feeling of being a Chinese citizen and 17% respect Chinese political and legal systems. This study shows that the Hong Kong peoples’ national identities are fluctuating, even though the government has made efforts to promote and strengthen Chinese national identity in Hong Kong.

This history has led to Hong Kong being a hybrid culture with Eastern and Western influences. During this transition period, some studies have been conducted in order to investigate the identity of Hong Kong adolescents. The research conducted before, or around 1997 (transition period of Hong Kong to China) consistently found that the Hong Kong identity was more salient than the Chinese identity among the majority of Hong Kong people (Lam, Lau, & Chiu, 1996). Modernity and the economic development of Hong Kong were considered to be important reasons for considering the Hong Kong identity superior to a Chinese identity among Hong Kong adolescents (Lam, Lau, Chiu, Hong, & Peng, 1999). SIT (Tajfel, 1981) suggests that individuals derive a positive self-image from comparison with the contrasting out-groups. In order to maintain and enhance a positive self-esteem, adolescents may choose to highlight their Hong Kong identity and downplay their Chinese identity. These adolescents see modernity as an important distinctiveness for social categorisation and they think that the Chinese are less modern than the Hong Kong population (Hong & Chiu, 1995). Ten years after Hong Kong has returned its sovereignty to China (Chiu & Hong, 2007), changes in Hong Kong adolescents' social identification and their attitudes towards China and Hong Kong are observed in another study. This, more recent study consisted of a survey with over 13,000 Hong Kong adolescent participants. The findings showed that more Hong Kong adolescents claimed dual identities (Chinese first, Hongkonger secondary), and fewer Hong Kong adolescents claimed sole identities (Hongkonger). Hong Kong adolescents have more positive attitudes towards the political and economic evaluation of China. However, their views of Mainland Chinese people remain negative. Together, these two pieces of research provide information on Hong Kong adolescents' perceptions of their national identity as well as their attitudes towards Mainland China before and after Hong Kong became a part of China. However, national identity is only one aspect of social identity, and our knowledge of Hong Kong children's social identity development is limited.

The political, social and economic system within Hong Kong, which still differs from the rest of China, is another important reason for Hong Kong to maintain its own identity (The Government of the Special Administrative Region Hong Kong,

2013). In order to maintain the peaceful transition of Hong Kong's return to China, most of Hong Kong's political, social and economic systems remain unchanged. For example, the 'one child policy' is only implemented in Mainland China, but not in Hong Kong. Hong Kong also has a different political system from Mainland China, which is called the principle of "one country, two systems" (Constitutional and Mainland Affairs Bureau, 2013). The principle stipulates that Hong Kong's Special Administrative Region has executive, legislative and independent judicial power. Hong Kong enjoys a high degree of autonomy, except in foreign and defence affairs, which are the responsibilities of the Central People's Government. The current social and economic systems in Hong Kong will remain unchanged. Hong Kong maintains a high level of human rights. According to the concept of acculturation proposed by Berry (2003, 2005, 2009) (see earlier of this Chapter, section 2.3.5), in response to the intergroup transition, people may have four possible reactions. The first reaction is to separate themselves from the out-group (Mainland Chinese) and maintain their own group (Hong Kong Chinese). The second is to accept and integrate into the out-group culture. The third is to abandon the in-group culture and assimilate into the out-group culture. The fourth response is to abandon both in-group and out group cultures. Under the scheme of "One country, two systems" and the social context of Hong Kong, many Hong Kong people chose to maintain and enhance the distinctiveness of the Hong Kong identity, even after the handover, while also gradually integrating into the mainstream Chinese culture (Chiu & Hong, 2007). Therefore, the practice of the special policy scheme might shape Hong Kong people's unique Hong Kong identity.

In addition to history and policy, language is an important symbol of identity (Chan, 2002; Tong, Hong, Lee, & Chiu, 1999). To Hong Kong people, Cantonese is their first language; both English and Mandarin are the second language. The attitude of learning Mandarin in Hong Kong is considered as a move towards integration to Mainland China, while learning English is related to the preference for Britain (Pierson, Giles, & Young, 1987). SIT has been used in bilingual settings to evaluate the perception of in-group members speaking the dominant out-group's



language (Hogg, D'agata, & Abrams, 1989). The people who identify themselves with their own ethnic group will have negative attitudes toward the in-group members who speak the out-group language. However, when the group identification is strong, in-group members are expected to use in-group language to communicate with out-group members. Otherwise, in-group members will receive a negative evaluation. In the context of Hong Kong, Hong Kong people who have identified themselves as 'Hongkongers' are expected to favour Cantonese speakers (the in-group language). In contrast, if they primarily identified themselves as Chinese, they might converge towards Mandarin speakers (the out-group language) (Tong, Hong, & Chiu, 1999). Therefore, whether Cantonese or Mandarin, the language Hong Kong people use is considered a symbol of their identity.

In summary, combining the colonised history, the "one country, two policies" policy scheme, as well as the different languages used in Hong Kong; Hong Kong is considered a special place in China. Therefore, considering the relationship between Hong Kong and China and the UK, it is useful to explore Hong Kong children's social identity in comparison with their peers in the UK and China. However, the current research about Hong Kong adolescents' social identity is mainly focused on their sense of being Chinese or being 'HongKongers' (Leung & Lee, 2006). We know little of the other aspects of social identity among Hong Kong children and adolescents. This is an important gap in the literature that this thesis will aim to fill.

## **2.6 Children in Mainland China**

Mainland China is the fourth largest country in the world in terms of landscape, covering an area of approximately 9.6 million square kilometres (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2011). It has been divided into 22 provinces, five autonomous regions, four directly controlled municipalities (Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, and Chongqing) and two special administrative regions (Hong Kong and Macau). China is the world's most populated country with a population of over 1.3 billion. In terms of ethnic diversity, there are 56 ethnic groups in China. Han Chinese is the largest ethnic group, which accounts for 91.51% of the population.

In terms of gender, there are slightly more men (51.27%) than women (48.73%). Regarding the distribution between urban and rural populations, 51.3% of the population live in urban areas while 48.7% of the population live in rural areas (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2011).

The term ‘Mainland China’ refers to the geographical area of China but excludes Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau. Government policy and social context are very different between Mainland China and the rest of China. As per the situation with Hong Kong, the research around Mainland Chinese children’s social identity is very limited. Therefore, any relevant policies, which may relate to the shaping of Mainland Chinese children’s social identity development, are reviewed first of all. There are two important policies, implemented in Mainland China, that influence the Chinese education system and impact on children’s development. Firstly, the “One-Child Policy” was introduced in Mainland China in 1979 (Hesketh, Lu, & Xing, 2005). The purpose of the policy was to reduce the birth rate, boost the economy and enhance the living conditions of Chinese people. As a result of the “One-Child policy”, the average family consists of 3.1 people, according to the latest population census (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2011). Secondly, the Nine-year Compulsory Education plan, implemented in Mainland China may be another influence on children’s social development (The Central People’s Government of the People’s Republic of China, 2013). In terms of the education system in Mainland China, pupils begin with 6 years in elementary school followed by 6 years in secondary school (this includes 3 years in junior secondary school and 3 years in senior secondary school). The Nine-year Compulsory Education plan was implemented in 1986 and means that all school-aged children in China are obligated to receive cost free education for at least 9 years, from elementary school through to secondary school. This is similar to Scotland, which provides free schooling to children aged from 5 to 16 years. The result of this policy is that the literacy rate in Mainland China has been significantly increased in the last two decades (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2011). This thesis fieldwork for Mainland China was carried out in a major city in Southwest China, Chong Qing. It

is one of the five municipality cities in China. It has a population of 28,846,200 and covers an area of 82,401 km<sup>2</sup> (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2011).

Lau and Yeung (1996) state that there are contrasting views of children's development between Western countries and China. There are well-established developmental frameworks in Western literature to demonstrate children's development from different perspectives. In terms of cognitive development, the works of Piaget and Kohlberg contribute to the understanding of children's thinking and progress in reasoning. Modern developmental psychology has advanced and refined the work of the classical theorists with a sound evidence base. In contrast, the understanding of child development in China has tended to be built on an integrative framework, such as Confucianism. The ideology of Confucius in relation to children's development is concerned with "filial piety", "interpersonal harmony", and "collective decision making" (p. 32). Therefore, children in China are "moralistic" more than "psychological" (p. 35). As a result, children's development from a psychological perspective is neglected. In addition, the use of the Confucius philosophy on Chinese children's development has been criticised as lacking 'theoretical basis' and 'empirical support'. Furthermore, some scholars also challenged the Confucius philosophy, stating that traditional values may not be applicable to contemporary children's development in China (Lau & Yeung, 1996).

As reviewed earlier in this Chapter (section 2.2), cultural construction is considered an important factor in shaping an individual's belief in social categorisation (Brewer, 1991). Many researchers have noted that different cultures shape the construction of self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989). Markus and Kitayama (1991) claimed that the emergence and development of self in traditional Western culture is related to individualism. Individualism emphasises an autonomous entity and distinguishes itself from others as well as from physical and social contexts. European and American societies hold the longstanding attitude of individual self as one "whose behaviour is organised and made meaningful primarily by reference to one's own internal repertoire of thoughts, feeling, and

actions, rather than by reference to the thoughts, feelings, and actions of others” (p.226).

In contrast, China regards a collective culture as optimal, according to Chen et al. (2008). Chao (2009) proposed that the Chinese culture promotes interdependence among people, especially with kinship people. The construction of self is emphasised by the connectedness of individuals to each other and it is important to harmonise one's self with the external world. Chen (2000) claimed that achieving and maintaining social order and interpersonal harmony are the primary concern in Chinese society. In China, one of the major tasks in schools is to help Chinese people develop their sense of collectivism (Chen, 2000), and is reflected in the values of individuals' belonging and loyalty to the group. In contemporary Chinese schools, there are various groups, such as classes and grades. Children are required to participate in group activities and group competitions. These activities are intended to encourage children to develop positive attitudes towards a collective, a sense of group affiliation and connectedness. However, some scholars cast doubts on the assumption that Chinese people are collectivistic without individualistic wishes (Lau & Leung, 1992). For example, a comparative study conducted across Eastern and Western countries found that young adults from Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Singapore emphasised their personal values and achievements no less than young adults in America (Lau & Leung, 1992). Nevertheless, there is limited research to establish whether Mainland Chinese children would place higher value on their personal identity compared to their collective identity.

An open, free-narrative method has been applied to examine the development of self-constructs between European American and Chinese children (age between 3.5 and 8.5 years) (Wang, 2004). This study used a Twenty Statement Test (TST) questionnaire (Kuhn & McPartland, 1954), in which participants were asked to answer twenty sentences that start with “I am...” Children's self-descriptions were coded as: referring to private self, collective self, or public self (Trafimow, Triandis, & Goto, 1991). Three main findings were concluded in this study (Wang, 2004). Firstly, European American children used their personal attributes and beliefs to

describe themselves more than the Chinese children did; whereas the Chinese children highlighted their social categories and relationships. Secondly American children gave more positive self-evaluations and described more dispositional traits and inner states such as emotions and thoughts than the Chinese children. In contrast, Chinese children described themselves in neutral tones and more frequently referred to themselves using situation-bound characteristics and overt behaviours. Thirdly, the cultural differences between the children increased with age. Therefore, evidence suggests that cultural variation is embodied in the construction of self. Chinese children's sense of who they are is influenced by the culture in which they are immersed.

Apart from cultural variation influencing children's self-concept, one study showed that parents and school are related to Chinese adolescents' development of self-concept (Lau & Leung, 1992). The research was conducted with 1668 Chinese adolescents aged from 13 to 15 years old. The researcher conducted questionnaires with adolescents to measure their self-concept, delinquency and relationships with school and parents. The study revealed that where adolescents had better relationships with their parents, they demonstrated higher self-concepts, whereas respondents with better relationship with schools were associated with better academic performance. Poorer relationship with parents and schools were not found to be associated with delinquency and misconduct in school. This study provides evidence to show that social context is associated with children's development of self-concept (Verkuyten, 2004).

There is some controversy regarding the academic achievement of Chinese children and how it might influence Chinese children's formation of their identity. Western research gave distinctive attention to the high academic achievement of Chinese children (Sue & Okazaki, 1990). Substantial attention to the academic achievement of Chinese children is explored by comparing Chinese children with North American children (Stevenson, Chen, & Lee, 1993). The experimental studies showed that Chinese children outperformed their North American counterparts academically from primary school through to high school.

Consideration of the academic achievement of Chinese children is attributed to the high emphasis on education in Chinese culture, exemplified by an ancient proverb saying, “gold is found in books” (Ho, 2008). Teaching and learning styles in China that do not allow students to express their critiques or reviews, and which are only aimed at memorising facts, have been criticised (Cherry, 1983).

## **2.7 Summary**

The review presented in Chapter 1 indicated a series of developmental theories of children’s social identity. It proposed three key elements of children’s social identity development: children’s development of social identity is changed across the age (Aboud, 2008; Nesdale, 2004), children’s social identity is related to self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and children’s social identity development is influenced by their social context (Umaña-Taylor & Shin, 2007). Chapter 1 particularly focused on three aspects of children’s social identity: ethnic identity, national identity and racial identity. It illustrated the development of these three identities among children. It also highlighted some useful techniques in measuring children’s ethnic, national and racial identity. Chapter 2 presented an overview of literature relating to an important theme in this thesis, which is the role of culture in identity development. Different cultures construct children’s conceptions of their identity (Calzada, Brotman, Huang, Bat-Chava, & Kingston, 2009). The different social and cultural contexts for each ethnic group of children included in this thesis and how they relate to children’s social identity development have been reviewed in this chapter.

In summary, this thesis seeks to gain an elaborated understanding of social identity in relation to the self-esteem of BBC children, and of the complex developmental process involving the culture of country of origin and that of the host country. It will do so by presenting a series of linked studies of Chinese children, growing-up in different cultural contexts: UK, China and Hong Kong. BBC children, Hong Kong Chinese and Mainland Chinese children share the same ethnic origin, Chinese, but they are different in terms of levels of exposure to Western culture. BBC children and white Scottish children share the same national and social

contexts, but they vary in ethnicity. It will also explore patterns of connection between parents' cultural orientation and children's identity. Therefore, there are three studies present in the following Chapters 4, 5, and 6. Each study includes separate research questions that will be answered within the relevant study: study 1 (Chapter 4), study 2 (Chapter 5) and study 3 (Chapter 6).

Study 1 attempted to explore the cultural similarities and differences in social identity and its impact on self-esteem across Mainland Chinese, Hong Kong Chinese, BBC and white Scottish, in three age groups. Social identity ("who am I?" self-description questionnaire) and self-esteem (modified Harter's self-esteem questionnaire) were measured with all four groups of children. There are three research questions in study 1.

- Research Question 1: Are there differences in the way the four cultural groups of children perceive their social identity? Does the way in which children perceive their social identity change with age?
- Research Question 2: Are there differences in the self-esteem scores across the four ethnic groups and if so, do these scores change with age?
- Research Question 3: Are there associations between patterns of social identity and measures of self-esteem? If so, do they differ across the groups?

Study 2 focused on BBC and white Scottish children: these children share a national context, but differ in ethnic identity. The study was designed to explore the children's self-categorisation, the degree of national identification (Chinese, Scottish, or both), and their perception of the positive and negative traits of Chinese and Scottish people across the age range (using a Trait Attribution Task). There are three research questions generated in study 2.

- Research Question 1: How do BBC and white Scottish children categorise themselves in terms of nationality, and is there any development of self-categorisation across age groups?
- Research Question 2: To what degree do BBC children identify with their national identity, Scottish, versus their ethnic identity, Chinese, and how does the strength of national identification compare with that of white

Scottish children? Are there any differences in ethnic/national identification across age groups?

- Research Question 3: How positively or negatively do BBC and white Scottish children perceive Chinese and Scottish people? Are there any developmental changes of children's intergroup attitudes across the age groups? Is there any relationship between the strength of liking a national group and giving a positive evaluation the group?

Study 3 introduced a novel, social identity vignettes task, to examine BBC and white Scottish children's perceptions of the ethnic identity of a Chinese character within two contrasting socio-cultural contexts (Scottish versus Chinese). This study addresses the question of whether children's social identifications are adaptive and sensitive to social context, and how this contextual sensitivity might change with age. It also explores the link between parents' attitudes towards their children's cultural orientation and children's national/ethnic identity, within identity vignettes. There are five research questions in study 3.

- Research Question 1: Does varying the cultural context between Chinese and Scottish vignettes have an effect on BBC and white Scottish children's perceptions of how Chinese or Scottish the vignette character feels?
- Research Question 2: Are there age-related changes in BBC and white Scottish children's judgements of the vignette characters' identity?
- Research Question 3: Do feelings of positivity among BBC and white Scottish children differ from the Chinese to Scottish vignettes? Are there age related changes in vignette characters' feeling of positivity?
- Research Question 4: Is there a correlation between children's identity perceptions and feelings of positivity in Chinese or Scottish vignettes?
- Research Question 5: Is there an association between parents' cultural orientation attitudes and their BBC children's identities?



## **CHAPTER 3**

### **METHODS**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

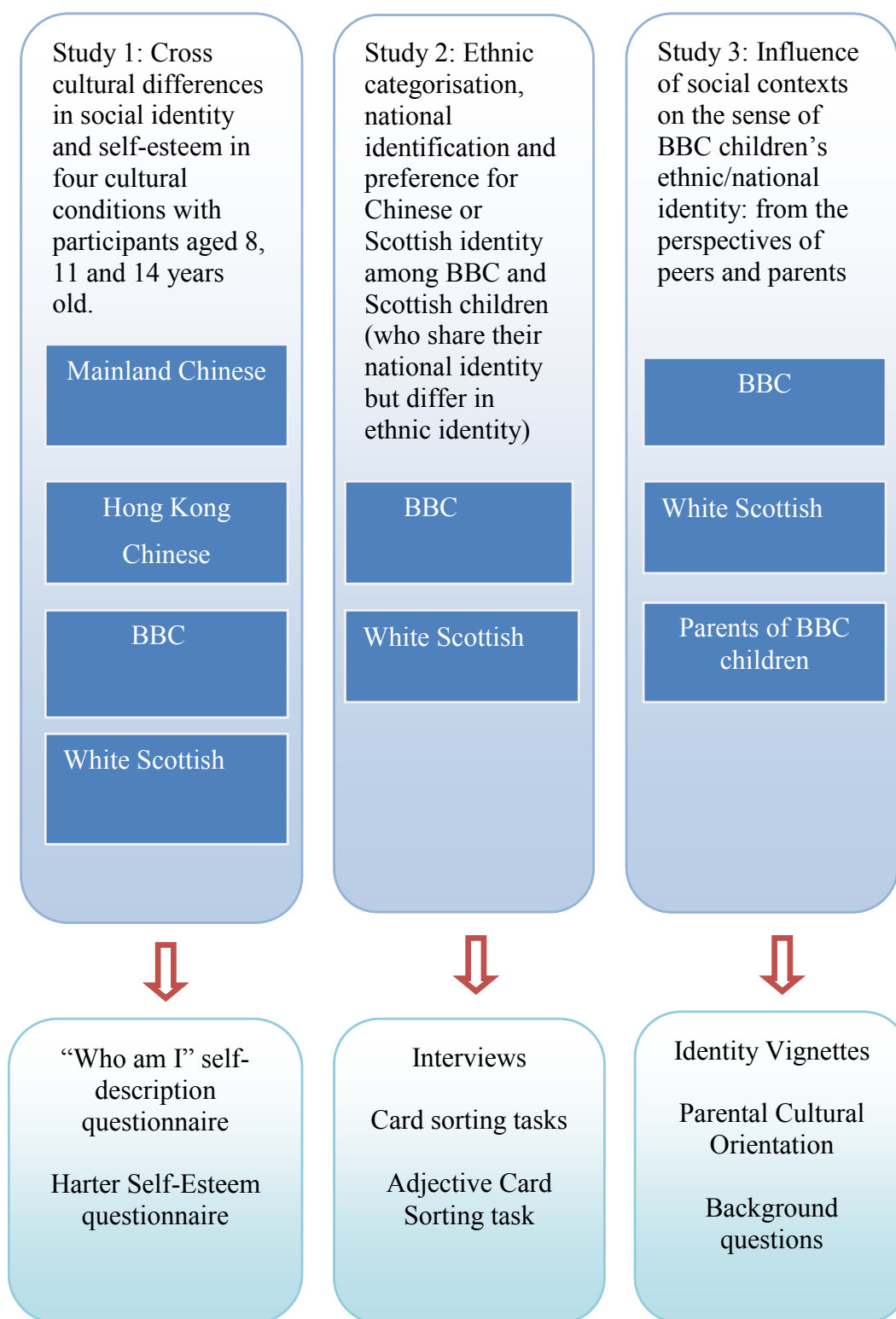
The previous two chapters outlined theoretical approaches to the development of social identity among children and also reviewed the literature concerning BBC children's social national contexts and those of their Chinese and Scottish peers. These chapters indicated how various social contexts underpin the development of children's social identity. The aim of this chapter is to introduce the methodological approaches taken in this thesis, linking the previous literature review chapters with the subsequent three results chapters. This chapter will describe the design of the different elements of the research reported in this thesis. Information is provided on the participants (recruitment, demographic characteristics), procedure of data collection (pilot study and fieldwork) in three countries: UK, Mainland China and Hong Kong. Furthermore, the design of the measures chosen, and reasons for their selection, will be considered. Full details of each measurement tool will be provided in detail in the relevant three results chapters that follow.

#### **3.2 Design**

The cross-cultural approach was chosen for the reasons described in Chapter 2. Firstly, the research is planned to compare the perception of a UK ethnic minority group of children (BBC) with that of children who are from two majority ethnic groups: Chinese and Scottish. In addition, as the main body of research on children's social identity and self-esteem is based in the West (Phinney, 1991, 2004; Rubin & Hewstone, 1998; Smith, Walker, Fields, Brookins, & Seay, 1999). There is a gap in our knowledge of what constitutes social identity for children from communist Mainland China and hybrid countries such as Hong Kong. The three linked studies reported in this research will offer unique data on social identity across three cultural contexts. The research also applies a developmental approach in that it investigates social identity of children across three age groups: middle childhood (age 8 years), later childhood (age 11 years), and early adolescence (age 14 years). These age groups were chosen based on what is known of age-related changes in social

cognition relating to in-group and out-group awareness (Nesdale, 1999 a, 2001) (see Chapter 1, section 1.3.2). In selecting the starting age for participants, children's literacy levels were considered. Eight years was judged to be old enough to understand the questionnaires, with scope for minor researcher assistance. A gap of three years to create distinct age groups (age 8, age 11 and age 14) serves two purposes: it aligns with testing the development of SIDT (Nesdale, 2004) and also it enables emergence of the trends of social identity development among children from middle childhood to early adolescence. The following figure (Figure 3.1) provides a schematic overview of the study.

**Figure 3.1 An overview of the research design**



### **3.3 Sample**

#### **3.3.1 Sampling and Recruitment**

##### ***Recruitment of BBC children and BBC parents***

A convenience sample of BBC children was selected, based on age, from Scottish state schools and Chinese communities in Scotland. BBC children constitute a numerically small proportion of the population in Scotland, and so a number of recruitment methods were used. The primary method was through mainstream schools. In addition, approaches were made to Chinese community organisations (such as Chinese schools, Chinese badminton clubs and Chinese lion clubs). Furthermore, flyers were posted in Chinese supermarkets and schools were also employed to gain a suitably large and varied sample (see appendix A).

The process of recruiting the BBC child sample initially involved approaching the main city councils to identify distribution of BBC children in Scotland. The researcher first approached city councils of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee and Stirling to identify the distribution of BBC children across the cities and schools' information of having BBC children. On receiving a reply, the researcher asked the city councils to give permission to contact schools to support participation in the study. The Education Departments of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Stirling city councils provided information of children with a Chinese ethnic background in each of the primary and secondary schools in their area, and provided permission to contact schools for participation in the study. In total, Edinburgh City Council identified 264 pupils with Asian-Chinese background, 59 of whom fell within the suitable age groupings of 8, 11 and 14 years old. These children were attending 41 schools (27 primary and 14 secondary) across Edinburgh. Glasgow City Council listed 152 pupils with Asian Chinese background in 13 primary schools in Glasgow. They could not provide details of the exact number of children in each secondary school. Stirling City Council provided information of 13 schools (5 secondary schools, 7 primary schools and 1 nursery). The Education Department of Dundee City Council could not support the study, with the explanation that the number of Chinese ethnic background children in the Dundee area is very small. Instead they suggested

contacting Dundee Chinese School because most pupils with a Chinese background attend Chinese schools to learn Chinese language at the weekends.

Letters and emails were then sent to a large number of the primary and secondary schools (both independent and state schools) in the Edinburgh, Glasgow and Stirling areas. Each letter included an information sheet and a flyer outlining the study's purpose, the criteria for recruiting pupils and the process of conducting the study (see Appendix B1). Three weeks later, because response rates from the schools were very low, follow up phone calls were made to ask whether the schools received the letter and when they could give a reply. This increased the response rates somewhat. However, a number of schools refused to support the study because of: involvement in other research, busy schedules, and a lack of BBC children meeting the age criteria. Nearly half of the schools did not reply. In the final sample, all participating schools are state schools, and none of the independent schools were involved in the study.

**Table 3.1 Participating schools of the study**

		Primary Schools	Secondary Schools
<b>Edinburgh</b>	Contacted	27	14
	Participated	9	4
<b>Glasgow</b>	Contacted	13	30
	Participated	2	0
<b>Stirling</b>	Contacted	7	5
	Participated	1	0

For schools that agreed to participate in the research, initial visits to meet head teachers were arranged. These had three purposes: firstly, to explain the requirements of the sample. BBC children and Scottish children of similar age were to be recruited in the schools simultaneously: age 8 years and age 11 years from the primary schools; and age 14 years from the secondary schools. Secondly, to explain the procedure and venues of conducting the research: this included the use of consent forms and

parental questionnaires. Thirdly, support from the schools was negotiated with school staff, including consent forms distribution, provision of venues for conducting the research; follow-up reminder letters and the return of questionnaires. After the school visit, the head teachers deliver the consent forms to the parents of BBC children (Appendix C1). Three schools did not participate in the study after the schools visit. One school dropped out of the study because it was preparing for a government inspection. Two schools did not participate in the study because no BBC family replied to the consent forms. In order to keep the balance of both BBC children and Scottish children involved in the study in each school, the two schools that only received replies from Scottish parents were not included in the research.

Of the additional methods used for recruiting BBC participants, the flyers and emails sent to Chinese organizations in Scotland, such as Scottish Chinese Association (SCA), were largely unsuccessful. However, approaching parents directly through Chinese schools, churches and badminton clubs proved to be successful. In Edinburgh, three Chinese schools provided participants: one of these schools was managed by the Mandarin speaking community. The other two were originally Cantonese but currently taught both Mandarin Chinese and Cantonese Chinese. The majority of children from those two schools are from Cantonese speaking families. To extend the network to other Chinese communities, approaches were made to two Chinese churches in Edinburgh, one Mandarin speaking, the congregation of which had spent varying lengths of time in the UK; the other dominated by people from Hong Kong (Cantonese speaking) who had lived in Edinburgh for decades. In Glasgow, Chinese badminton and lion clubs gave their permission to visit and to recruit from the parents and children attending them. Overall, visiting Chinese communities and targeting the parents directly to introduce the research and give the information directly proved to be the most effective recruitment method.

Participants from Chinese communities provided their phone numbers or email addresses and gave informed written consent. After receiving the consent forms, the researcher conducted the study with both parents and children in the venue most convenient to the family members. Recruitment of BBC children started in October

2010 and finished in February 2012. Data collection covered the period from March 2011 to February 2012. The following two tables show the sample distribution across the different recruitment methods and the locations where the research was conducted.

**Table 3.2 Sample distribution of recruitment methods**

<b>Recruitment Method</b>		<b>Number (Percentage) of families</b>	<b>Subtotal</b>
Schools	Primary schools	6 (8.6%)	23 (32.9%)
	Secondary schools	17 (24.3%)	
Chinese community	Chinese schools	35 (50.0%)	47 (67.1%)
	Chinese churches	6 (8.6%)	
	Chinese Badminton Club	5 (7.1%)	
	Chinese lion dance club	1 (1.4%)	
<i>Total</i>		<i>70 (100%)</i>	<i>70 (100%)</i>

**Table 3.3 Places where the research was conducted with BBC children**

<b>Places of conducting the research</b>	<b>Number of families</b>
Mainstream schools	31 (44.4%)
Chinese communities (including Chinese schools, Chinese church, Chinese badminton club, Chinese lion club)	24 (34.3%)
Home	9 (12.9%)
Outside (e.g. library, restaurant)	6 (8.6%)
<i>Total</i>	<i>70 (100%)</i>

### ***Recruitment of White Scottish children***

All white Scottish children were recruited from mainstream schools in Scotland. The recruitment of Scottish children occurred simultaneously with the recruitment of BBC children in mainstream schools. The purpose of recruiting Scottish children at the same schools as BBC children is because those children would be familiar with the BBC group. In addition, recruiting white Scottish and BBC children at the same schools controls for a range of other social and economic variables because schools have geographical catchments. After the schools agreed to participate in the study, the researcher made the initial visit to the schools; she explained to the school head teachers that the research aimed to recruit a similar number of white Scottish children as a comparative sample to BBC children. Therefore, white Scottish children were recruited from the same age group or from the same class as the BBC children (age 8 and age 11 in primary schools, and age 14 in secondary schools). After the head teacher of each school agreed to support the research project, the Scottish parental consent forms (see Appendix C2) were sent out to parents of white Scottish children.

In total, 91 white Scottish children from 12 primary schools and 4 secondary schools participated in the study. 49 of the children are girls and 42 are boys; 25 of them are age 8 years old, 38 age 11 years old and 28 age 14 years old. The detail of the children's information provided in table 3.4 (section 3.3.2). The research with white Scottish children was conducted at the same venue as BBC children in the schools. The contact with mainstream schools in Scotland started in November, 2010, and the data collection of Scottish children in mainstream schools started in March, 2011 and was completed in February, 2012.

### ***Recruitment of Mainland Chinese children***

Recruitment of Chinese children was conducted in one of the major cities in southwest China, Chongqing. The Education Department of the City of Chongqing provided permission to contact schools. Although it was not feasible to recruit a nationally representative sample, four schools were selected based on the rank of the school and social-economic status of the families. Two primary schools and two



secondary schools were contacted and agreed to participate in the research (Appendix B2). Of these, one primary and one secondary school were “focused on” schools, meaning their academic rank, performance, social status of the parents, and social economic indicators of those two schools were better than those of the other two schools. The higher rank primary school has around 2000 students, 91 teachers and 31 classes. The lower rank primary school has around 1500 students, 78 teachers and 28 classes. The higher rank secondary school has 6985 students, 376 teachers and 103 classes. The lower rank secondary school has around 5000 students, 285 teachers and 83 classes. The researcher conducted school visits to meet the head teachers at four schools and was introduced to the classroom teachers who gave consent forms to appropriate students to pass on to their parents (Appendix C3). Students aged 8 and aged 11 years were recruited in the primary schools, whereas 14 year-olds were recruited from secondary schools. In the secondary schools only day-pupils were included because of difficulties for boarders in passing consent forms to their parents. In total, 148 Chinese pupils from four schools participated in the study: 50 pupils from the higher rank primary school, 48 pupils from the lower rank primary school, 24 pupils from the higher rank secondary school and 26 pupils from the lower rank secondary school (more information see table 3.4). Overall, the schools were contacted in October, 2010, and the data collection took place from December, 2010 to January, 2011.

### ***Recruitment of Hong Kong children***

Similar recruitment methods to those used in Mainland China were applied to fieldwork in Hong Kong. The researcher contacted the Education Bureau of the Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region for permission to contact Hong Kong schools. These total 528 local primary schools, 40 international primary schools, 497 secondary schools and 27 international secondary schools. All of those schools are distributed in four regions of Hong Kong: Hong Kong region, Kowloon region, New Territories East region, and New Territories West Region (Education Bureau of the Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, 2010). As New Territory regions are reported to have large numbers of children from Mainland China and in order to ensure the best sample of children

from Hong Kong origin to participate in the study, school recruitment was focused on Hong Kong and Kowloon regions. In Hong Kong, schools are categorized as boys' schools, girls' schools and mixed gendered schools. To get a balanced number of both boys and girls in a school, only mixed gendered schools were invited. Invitation letters were sent out to more than 200 schools in Hong Kong (see Appendix B3). After five months' contact, only one out of more than 200 schools contacted in Hong Kong and Kowloon regions, agreed to participate. The majority of the other schools did not reply and, of those that did reply, only a few gave reasons for their refusal to participate, such as busy schedule or no interest. Through a snowballing procedure, the contact person in the school that agreed to participate helped to find another two schools, one primary school and one secondary school. A fourth primary school was contacted through personal contact. Therefore, a total of four schools (two primary schools and two secondary schools) in Hong Kong agreed to participate in the research. One primary school was a state school, and the other three schools were religious schools. The Hong Kong school contact started from February, 2011, and the data collection was conducted during October of 2011. The consent forms were collected before the research commenced (see Appendix C4). A total of 155 children and adolescents from Hong Kong participated in the study: 60 from religious primary schools, 38 from the state primary schools and 57 from religious secondary schools.

### **3.3.2 The Achieved Sample**

Overall 470 children and 46 parents of BBC children participated in the study. The research originally aimed to recruit only children born in the UK, with parents from China. However, as finding enough participants became difficult, children who came to the UK before one year old were also accepted in the study. Five children who came to the UK after 3 years old participated in the study but were excluded from the final sample because schools did not have information of their birthplace. In total, 6 BBC children were excluded from the final sample due to the concern that their social identity and social knowledge might have been shaped before they came to the UK.

Following reminder letters, of the 70 BBC children's parents who were invited to complete a parent questionnaire, 48 returned the questionnaires. Finally, a total of 464 children participated in the study, including 70 BBC children, 91 Scottish children, 148 Chinese children and 155 Hong Kong Chinese children. Details of child participants are provided in Table 3.4 below.

**Table 3.4 Distribution of age among four ethnic groups of participants**

		BBC (N= 70)	White Scottish (N= 91)	Hong Kong Chinese (N=155)	Mainland Chinese (N=148)
Age 8	N	21	25	47	48
	M	8.33	8.53	8.31	7.87
	SD	0.42	0.46	0.35	0.34
	Range	7.67-9.33	7.92-9.33	7.75-9.58	7.17-8.33
Age 11	N	27	38	51	50
	M	11.19	11.48	10.94	10.94
	SD	0.62	0.46	0.60	0.40
	Range	9.92-12.25	10.58-12.33	10.00-11.75	10.00-11.83
Age 14	N	22	28	57	50
	M	14.17	14.66	14.45	14.19
	SD	0.51	0.40	0.29	0.37
	Range	13.42-15.00	14.00-15.58	13.75-15.00	13.25-14.92

As shown in Table 3.4, across four sample groups of children, the age and age ranges in three age groups are similar. Among 70 participating BBC children, 22 (31%) BBC children come from Mainland Chinese family background and 48 (69%) from Hong Kong Chinese family background. These 70 BBC children were from 67 families. Of the 46 parent participants, 42 (92%) were mothers and 4 (8%) were fathers.

### **3.4 Task selection and data collection instruments**

As outlined in Chapter 2 (section 2.5), there are three studies presented in the thesis. Study 1 explored cultural similarities and differences in social identity and its relation to self-esteem across four groups of children in the three age groups. Study 2 focused on how BBC and white Scottish children's national self-categorisation, the degree of national identification (Chinese, Scottish, or both), and intergroup attitudes of Chinese and Scottish people change with age. Study 3 concerns BBC and white Scottish children's perceptions of the feelings of ethnic identity of a Chinese character within two contrasting socio-cultural contexts (Scottish versus Chinese), and how BBC children's attitudes to ethnic and national identity are associated with parental cultural orientation attitudes. Based on these research questions, appropriate questionnaires and experimental tasks were selected for each study. These will be discussed in the following section.

Study 1 consists of a cross-cultural comparison of social identity and self-esteem among Mainland Chinese, Hong Kong Chinese, BBC and white Scottish children. This study takes a cross-cultural perspective to explore the development of identity in the four cultural groups across the three age groups using a relatively open-ended research approach. It also explores cultural differences in self-esteem to examine, for example, whether BBC children have lower self-esteem than either indigenous white Scottish children or Chinese children who are ethnically and nationally a majority. As reviewed in Chapter 1 (section 1.2.4), social identity is related to self-esteem. Therefore, in the first study, two questionnaires were selected: the "Who am I" Self-Description Questionnaire (modified from twenty Statements Test (TST) (Kuhn & McPartland, 1954) and the Modified Harter Self-Esteem Questionnaire (Hoare, Elton, Greer, & Kerley, 1993) (Appendix D). These two questionnaires are used to examine social identity and self-esteem in the four groups of children: BBC, Hong Kong Chinese, Mainland Chinese, and white Scottish children. Details of selection criteria of the questionnaires and procedures with different groups of children and adolescents can be found in Chapter 4.

Study 2 tightens the focus of investigation onto BBC and white Scottish children. It investigates self-identification and intergroup attitudes. In particular, this study sets out to explore whether children's ethnicity has an impact on their national identity. Do BBC children think they are Scottish, Chinese or somewhere in between? What are their feelings and those of white Scottish children toward Chinese and Scottish groups? In addition to comparing BBC children with their white Scottish counterparts, Study 2 also takes a developmental approach to examine whether BBC children's self-identification changes with age. The study adopts card sorting tasks (Barrett et al., 1997) to examine BBC children's dual identity (Appendix E). These tasks are widely used to examine children's attitudes in terms of national categorisation, identification and intergroup attitudes (Clay & Barrett, 2011; Reizabal & Ortiz, 2011). The rationale for the selection of the tasks and the procedure used are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5.

Study 3 continues to focus on BBC children and white Scottish children. It makes use of Identity Vignettes; an adapted General Ethnicity Questionnaire; and six interview questions, to investigate contextual factors that influence BBC and white Scottish children's developing understanding of BBC children's sense of ethnic identity. In this study the importance of specific cultural contexts in priming identities is explored in line with SSCMT as reviewed in Chapter 1 (section 1.4.1) (Barrett, 2007). To explore the adaptive and contextually tied nature of social identity a new and novel task, the Social Identity Vignettes task, was designed. Specifically, this task examines aspects of BBC and white Scottish children's perceptions of the ethnic identity of a Chinese character within two contrasting socio-cultural contexts (Scottish versus Chinese) in social contexts of food, language, festival, social activities and the parents' language usage. Study 3 also incorporates parents' ethnic identity attitudes towards acculturation of their children to each country. The General Ethnicity Questionnaire (GEQ) (Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2000) was adapted in this study to use with parents in order to examine parents' cultural orientation attitudes of Chinese or Scottish cultures to their children. In addition, a parental interview schedule consisted of 16 questions covering family background, the cultural environment at home and parents' attitudes of raising their children in

Western society while maintaining Chinese culture at home. However, only parental cultural orientation questionnaire and responses to 6 interview questions which demonstrate the geographic background of parents are included in the study. The Identity Vignettes, adapted General Ethnicity Questionnaire and six interview questions can be found in Appendix F. The detail of this study will be discussed in Chapter 6.

More parents' data were collected to examine parents' attitudes towards their social identity, self-esteem, and cultural orientation attitudes towards their children. Parental questionnaires contain elements of social identity examined by the "Who am I" Self-Description Questionnaire (Kuhn & McPartland, 1954), collective self-esteem examined by the Collective Self-Esteem Scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992), and personal self-esteem examined by Rosenberg self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1965). However, only the adapted GEQ (Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2000) and the first 6 out of 16 interview questions were analysed for the purpose of the study because there is a theoretical framework to support its association with children's identity formation (see Chapter 2, Sections 2.3.5).

The measurements tools used with children and parents are outlined in Table 3.5. Apart from the identity vignettes, the tools were structured and standard questionnaires. Items were selected from approved standardized scales because they (a) helped to ensure that the items were suitable for the four groups of children; (b) could be compared with other studies that used similar scales; and (c) required less time for piloting and testing the validity and reliability of the items than would be needed if a newly developed measure was employed. However, in order to investigate some specific aspects, some questions are added to the standard questionnaire. These additions will be described in the individual measurement section in each results chapter. The details of each individual measurement, rationale of selecting and creating measurements, reliability and validity of measurements, the coded responses used, as well as ethnic and cultural sensitivity consideration will be presented in each experimental results chapter (see Chapters 4, 5 and 6).

**Table 3.5 Data Collection Tools for children and parents.**

		Mainland children	HK children	BBC	Scottish Children	BBC Parents
Study 1	“Who am I” Self- description Questionnaire	√	√	√	√	
	Modified Harter Self- Esteem Questionnaire	√	√	√	√	
Study 2	Interview			√	√	
	Card Sorting Tasks			√	√	
	Adjective Card Sorting Task			√	√	
Study 3	Identity Vignette			√	√	
	General Ethnicity Questionnaire					√
	Background Interviews					√

### 3.5 Pilot Studies

Each study was piloted with 10 BBC children (five 8-year-olds, four 10-year-olds and one 12-year-olds) and seven parents (one has three children and one has two children in the pilot study). All the children were found through Chinese schools. The pilot trial was to test the feasibility of the questionnaire: whether the measures were suitable to the children’s ages, and whether the questions were understood well by children and parents. It allowed the researcher to practise the procedures and to estimate any difficulties that might be encountered in the future fieldwork based on those during the trial run.

The pilot study was conducted in informal settings, and some parents were present with children, thus children were easily interrupted by noise and they might seek help from parents. The pilot study revealed that: 1) the youngest age range: children

of age 8 were able to understand and to answer the questionnaires and tasks. 2) A quiet environment was very important for conducting the study.

### **3.6 Data Collection Procedures**

Although the procedures followed in conducting the research are consistent across the different countries and different ethnic groups of children, the contexts of conducting the research and applying the measures varied across the groups.

#### **3.6.1 Data collection in Scotland**

33% of BBC children and all white Scottish children were recruited from schools. The procedure of conducting the research in schools is as follows. After the consent forms were returned to the school, appointments were arranged with the school. To make BBC children and Scottish feel they were not being treated differently, both white Scottish and BBC children participated in three studies at the same time. They completed the questionnaires together under researcher supervision in a quiet room provided by the school (this procedure related to study 1), and then they met the researcher individually to carry out the experimental tasks (this procedure related to study 2 and study 3).

After BBC children finished the questionnaire and experimental tasks, they were asked the preferred language of their parents, and were given a parental questionnaire with a stamped addressed envelope, for the convenience of parents to post it back to the researcher once it had been completed (this procedure related to study 3). Conducting the interview with parents was planned separately. However, most of the parents treated interview questions as open-ended questionnaires rather than arranging an interview. To those who did not return the questionnaires, a reminder letter was sent to parents if their home address was provided in the consent forms. If not, a reminder letter was sent to the school to be forwarded to the parents.

The approach to BBC sample recruitment from Chinese communities allowed the researcher to receive the consent forms directly from parents. The researcher arranged the venue and the time with parents and children together in the place



which was convenient to them. The questionnaires, experimental tasks and interview with both children and parents could all be done during the same visit (this procedure related to studies 1, 2 and 3). Some parents gave permission to conduct the research with their children in Chinese schools but, for various reasons (e.g. parents' work commitments, and part-time work) were unable to meet the interviewer in person afterwards. In these cases, the parent was provided with a hard copy of the questionnaire with stamped addressed envelope to complete at home and return to the university by post.

The largest volume of missing parental questionnaires was from the parents recruited through schools. Reminder letters were given to parents three times through the school or posted to parents' homes after conducting the research with their children. The first reminder was sent two weeks after the research conducted with the children, the second was sent one month after the research with the children, and the last one was sent two months after the research with the children. After parents completed the questionnaire, gift vouchers were sent as an appreciation gift to give to parents. The reminder letters and vouchers improved the rate of parental questionnaires return. Overall, face-to-face interviews were conducted with 28 parents; and 18 parents completed the questionnaire by themselves and returned them.

### **3.6.2 Data collection in Mainland China**

Mainland Chinese children were recruited through the schools and they completed two questionnaires. Once the parents had agreed to their child participating and returned the consent forms to the school, appointment times for conducting research were arranged with the schools. The school staff helped gather the pupils in a classroom according to age, and the pupils completed the questionnaire with the researcher and one teacher present. Before the students started to answer the questionnaires, the researcher explained how to fill them out, assured the children that there are no right or wrong answers, they could express their own ideas, they had the right to say no if they did not wish to continue, and they could ask questions during the process. This assurance statement and clear instruction were essential to guarantee reliable information from the students. In study 1, the two questionnaires

took 30 minutes for the younger children and 20 minutes for the older children to complete.

### **3.6.3 Data collection in Hong Kong**

In study 1, the procedure of conducting the research in Hong Kong was similar to that in Mainland China. Consent forms were obtained before the research commenced in the schools. As the researcher was a Mandarin speaker, a Cantonese teacher was present to help the researcher translate the instruction to all the children in order for them to understand the procedure thoroughly.

In summary, the total data collection lasted for one year and three months, started from December of 2010 and ran until February of 2012. The whole research study constituted three sets of fieldwork in Hong Kong, in Mainland China and in Scotland. The research conducted in four schools in Mainland China, four schools in Hong Kong, and 16 mainstream schools in Scotland and a variety of Chinese communities involved in the study. In total, 464 children participated in the study (seventy BBC, ninety-one Scottish, one hundred forty-eight Mainland Chinese and one hundred fifty-five Hong Kong Chinese) and 46 parents of BBC children involved in the study. The questionnaires were translated into three different languages, simplified Chinese version used in Mainland China, traditional Chinese version used in Hong Kong and English version used in Scotland.

## **3.7 Ethical Issues**

The research was conducted with children and families with a focus on ethnic minority groups of children and parents. Therefore, the ethical pursuit process and an appropriate ethical framework are especially important. This research was guided by the British Education Research Association's (BERA), Ethical Guidelines For Educational Research (2011) and the British Psychological Society code of ethics and conduct (Ethics Committee of the British, 2009). The consent for conducting the research was granted by the Research and Research Ethics Committee of the School of Education in Edinburgh University. Enhanced disclosure was obtained for the researcher from Disclosure Scotland. In Mainland China and Hong Kong, a

certificate of No Criminal Conviction and statements from the University were given to schools before the commencement of the study.

In addition, the research was based on the common practice of working with children (King & Churchill, 2000). Information Sheets and Invitation flyers were sent to the primary schools, secondary schools, Chinese communities, or directly given to parents. Parents were provided with information about the study, such as how the data would be collected, the time it would take, the right of the participants to withdraw or say no if they did not wish continue, and how the data would be used eventually. Consent forms forwarded to the parents informed them that all information they provided would be kept confidential and the data stored anonymously. Copies of the information sheets and invitation flyers can be found in Appendix B and C. Prior to the data collection, children's views were respected (Morrow & Richards, 1996) as well as their freedom to participate in the study. At the beginning of the study, the children and parents were told that they were not obliged to participate in the study and they could drop out at the any stage of the data collection. They could avoid any questions that made them feel uncomfortable. Further on, the anonymity of their names and the answers were guaranteed and upheld through the whole research process.

### **3.8 Conclusion**

This chapter has set out the methodological approach taken to the research reported in this thesis. This research applied cross-cultural and developmental approaches. It includes participants from Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Scotland, UK, to explore the differences of children's social and ethnic identities across three age groups (8-year-olds, 11-year-olds and 14-year-olds). This chapter has provided a broad overview of the design of the study, sample recruitment, and approaches to data collection.

The methodology of these three linked studies is grounded by the three research questions stated in Chapter 2 (section 2.7). The following three empirical chapters provide a more detailed account of the rationale for each element of the research,

together with a detailed account of data collection methods, data analysis and findings. Chapter 4 reports Study 1, which was designed to explore cultural similarities and differences in social identity and its relation to self-esteem across the four cultural groups of children in three age groups using two measures: Social identity ("Who am I" Self-description Questionnaire) and self-esteem (Harter's Self-esteem Questionnaire). Chapter 5 reports Study 2, which focuses on BBC and white Scottish children: these share national context, but differ in ethnic identity. The study was designed to explore children's national self-categorisation, the degree of national identification (Chinese, Scottish, or both) (using interview and Card Sorting tasks), and their perception of the positive and negative traits of Chinese and Scottish people across the ages (using a Trait Attribution Task). Chapter 6 reports the findings of Study 3, which introduces a novel Social Identity Vignettes task to examine BBC and white Scottish children's perceptions of ethnic identity of a Chinese character within two contrasting socio-cultural contexts (Scottish versus Chinese). This study addresses the question of whether children's social identifications are adaptive and sensitive to social context, and how this contextual sensitivity might change with age. It also explores the link between parents' attitudes towards their children's cultural orientation and children's national/ethnic identity in Identity Vignettes.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **STUDY 1: CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARISON OF SOCIAL IDENTITY AND SELF-ESTEEM AMONG MAINLAND CHINESE, HONG KONG CHINESE, BBC AND WHITE SCOTTISH CHILDREN**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

The previous chapter described the methods of collecting the data, the selection of questionnaire and scales, and a pilot study. This chapter presents Study 1 of the thesis research, which takes a cross-cultural and developmental approach, making comparisons of four cultural groups of children across three age groups. Social identity and self-esteem are measured using questionnaires and scores compared across four groups of children: Mainland Chinese, Hong Kong Chinese, BBC and white Scottish children aged 8, 11 and 14 years old. The chapter begins with a synthesis of key elements of the literature reviewed in Chapter 1. Subsequently, the methods and results of social identity and self-esteem comparisons across the groups are presented. The chapter concludes with a discussion of how cultural differences among the groups are reflected in children's social identity formation and self-esteem across three age groups.

##### **4.1.1 Cultural influences on Social identity**

As described in the account of SIT (Tajfel, 1981) in the first chapter, social identity refers to “that part of the individual's self-concept which derives from his or her knowledge of membership to a social group together with the value and the emotional significance attached to it” (Tajfel, 1981, p. 255). As each of us belong to different social groups (e.g. national group, ethnic group, gender group), the sense of self is composed of multiple social identities (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Social identity provides a definition of the person's concept of who they are in terms of defining characteristics of the social categories with which they identify (Hogg, 1992, 2006).

There is an established body of research on social identity in adolescence and adulthood (Brewer & Hewstone, 2004). However, as outlined in chapter 1 section 1.3,

only quite recently has there been a growing interest in the development of social identity in childhood (Barrett, 2007; Sani & Bennett, 2004; Levy & Killen, 2008). A common method of investigating children's identification with groups is to look at children's self-description (Bennett & Sani, 2008). Through content analysis of children's description of themselves, Livesley and Bromley (1973) revealed that many children refer to their social groups (such as 'I am a boy scout', 'I am an African American', etc.). Similarly, when McGuire and McGuire (1988) asked children to "Tell us about yourself", the content analysis showed many children referred to forms of group social identity, such as their ethnic identity and gender. This research method has become prevalent in research on identity development with children. It is particularly appropriate in cross-cultural research because the openness of the questions lets any cultural differences emerge (see Chapter 2, section 2.2).

#### **4.1.2 Development of social and ethnic identity**

The developmental changes in social identity take place between early childhood and middle childhood (Ruble et al., 2004). As was noted in Chapter 1 (section 1.2.4), there are two developmental theories which offer an account of social identity development across childhood: CDT (Aboud, 1988, 2008) and SIDT (Nesdale, 2004, 2008). Aboud (2008) postulated that children's development of intergroup attitudes reached a peak at the age of 6-7 years old. However, SIDT (Nesdale, 2004, 2008) proposed that children's development of ethnic prejudice involved four stages, and children's prejudice only develops after 7 years old, indicating that inter-group attitudes are not fully developed at 7 years. Furthermore, Sani and Bennett (2004) also suggested that children's understanding of their self-conception moves through age related stages. Prior to the age of 7-8 years, children's self-descriptions are on the basis of their external characteristics and social relationships (e.g., "I am a boy, my name is Jason. I live with my father and mother in a big house") (Harter, 1998, p. 47). Compared with that, 7-8-year-old children's self-descriptions include more stable, trait-like characteristics (Livesley & Bromley, 1973) and their self-description statements refer to comparison with others (Ruble & Frey, 1991). However, findings from experimental research imply that although children's self-understanding has achieved a developmental progression from the concrete to the psychological by

aged 8 years, as they can use psychological terms to describe themselves and other people (Bartsch & Wellman, 1997; Wellman, 1990), nevertheless, it is not until middle to late childhood that children are considered to have a more general, stable and organizing structure in mind to direct their behaviors (Rholes, Newman, & Ruble, 1990). Therefore, in the current study, 8, 11 and 14 year-olds were selected as appropriate age groups to examine the developmental changes of children's social and ethnic identity with scope for identifying in-group and out-group awareness, the possibility of ethnic prejudice, and the ability to consider trait-like characteristics. This in turn would make exploration of possible links to self-esteem meaningful.

#### **4.1.3 Social identity and self-esteem**

The study reported in this chapter also examines the connections between social identity development and self-esteem across the four national and ethnic groups. As was reviewed in Chapter 1 (section 1.2.3), it is widely acknowledged that social identity is connected with self-esteem (Abrams & Hogg, 1990, 2006; Phinney et al., 1997). Self-esteem is conceptualized as the evaluative component of the "self" (Wang & Ollendick, 2001). Social identity theory proposes that group members show a bias towards their in-group and derogate the out-groups in order to maintain and achieve a positive social identity, and hence establish a positive self-esteem. This association between social identity and self-esteem has been shown in ethnic minority individuals (Phinney et al., 1997). There are different views of the relationship between social identity and self-esteem among ethnic minority children. Early theory on social identity postulated that those in minority ethnic groups are at risk of lower self-esteem if they are seen as belonging to a lower status social group (Tajfel, 1981). If children have sufficient maturity to be aware of social status, they might be similarly susceptible. However, there is evidence that ethnic minority group members who identify themselves more strongly with their minority group tend to have higher self-esteem (Crocker & Major, 1989). Therefore, Phinney et al. (1997) argue that the relationship between social identity and self-esteem cannot be generalized because it varies across social groups because of historical and cultural differences.

There are two limitations in the field of social identity and self-esteem research. One limitation lies in the fact that much of the current literature of social identity and self-esteem is largely focused on ethnic identity and self-esteem (Bracey, Bamaca, & Umaña-Taylor, 2004; Phinney et al., 1997). In order to enhance understanding of social identity and self-esteem, researchers suggested moving beyond examining ethnic identity and consider the different aspects of social identity that may be associated with self-esteem and psychological wellbeing (e.g. Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Leach et al., 2008). The other limitation is that the literature on social identity and self-esteem is largely focused on adolescents and adults (Phinney, 1990; Phinney et al., 1997). There is lack of research to examine children's social identity in relation to self-esteem. Therefore, the current study focused on different perceptions of social identity among children, and examined the relationship between their varying representations of social identity and self-esteem.

In summary, social identity "creates and defines the individual's place in society" (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 40-41). In addition, the focus of social identity shifts through childhood (Sani & Bennett, 2004). Furthermore, social identity is associated with self-esteem (Rubin & Hewstone, 1998). The developmental theories of social identity has been well established and systematically examined in Western literature. However, we know little of children from dual cultural background, such as BBC children. Although the association between ethnic identity and self-esteem has been widely evidenced by different ethnic minority groups in Western society, most studies treat social identity and self-esteem as unitary and separate constructs. In addition, there is little literature to tell us whether this association can be generalized to different cultures. Moreover, to date, no studies compare self-esteem across four groups of children that are exposed to different levels of Eastern/Western cultural orientations.

## **4.2 The present study**

Therefore, Study 1 will investigate Mainland Chinese, Hong Kong Chinese, BBC and white Scottish children's social identities. It will explore whether there are any



differences in self-esteem across different ethnic groups, and whether there is any relationship between social identity and self-esteem.

BBC children are an ethnic minority in Scotland. As a minority group, they may be perceived in Scotland as of lower status than white Scottish children and even experience ethnic prejudice. So it might be expected that their self-esteem would be lower than that of white Scottish children. However, it is also possible that children from Chinese ethnic groups could have lower or higher self-esteem than white Scottish children for cultural reasons. Thus the Mainland Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese groups will provide points of comparison with the BBC children, since they share the culture but not the ethnic minority status. However, research has also indicated that ethnic minority groups may have high self-esteem if they have a strong group ethnic identity (Crocker & Majo, 1989). Therefore, this study examines the association between BBC children's social identity and self-esteem, in comparison with the other three ethnic majority groups of children. As the literature predicts developmental changes in children's social identity (Sani & Bennett, 2004), the study will also take a developmental approach to explore the developmental changes of social identity in the four cultural groups of children.

Therefore, this chapter will investigate developmental changes in Mainland Chinese, Hong Kong Chinese, BBC and white Scottish children's social identities and whether any links with self-esteem might change with age.

This chapter addresses the following four research questions:

1. Are there differences in the way the four cultural groups of children perceive their social identity? Does the way in which children perceive their social identity change with age?

Prediction 1: According to the literature reviewed in Chapter 2 (section 2.2), culture is an important factor in influencing children's development (Calzada et al., 2009). Children's identity formation is influenced by culture (Phinney & Baldelomar, 2011). Therefore, it is predicted that children from the four

culture groups perceive their social identity differently. In addition, according to the development of children's social identity outlined earlier in this chapter (section 4.1.2) and Chapter 1 (section 1.3), it is predicted that there will be some changes in children's social identity across the different age groups.

2. Are there differences in self-esteem scores across the four ethnic groups and if so, do these scores change with age?

Prediction 2: As cultural differences influence the constructing of the social self (see Chapter 2, section 2.2), it is predicted that children's self-esteem scores will differ across the cultural groups. As a previous study (Chan, 2000) found that Hong Kong Chinese children's self-esteem was lower than that of white British children and BBC children, but there is no differences of self-esteem between BBC and white British children. I predict that there are no differences between BBC and white Scottish children in terms of self-esteem, but Hong Kong Chinese children might have lower self-esteem than white Scottish and BBC children.

3. Are there associations between patterns of social identity and measures of self-esteem? If so, do they differ across the cultural groups?

Prediction 3: SIT predicted that there is a relationship between social identity and self-esteem (see section 4.1.3 and Chapter 1, section 1.2.4), and it is accordingly predicted that there will be some relationship between social identity aspects and self-esteem in study 1. However, it is worth to note that most of experimental studies examined ethnic identity and self-esteem (Nesdale & Mark, 2003), whereas study 1 was looking at social identity and self-esteem. In addition, the different cultural groups may have different relationships between social identity and self-esteem as they value different aspects of social identity.

### **4.3 Methods**

#### **4.3.1 Participants**

The participants were 464 children aged 8, 11, and 14 years, living in Mainland China, Hong Kong and Scotland. Of these, 148 were Mainland Chinese children (76 girls and 72 boys; 48 aged 8 years, 50 aged 11 years, and 50 aged 14 years), 155 Hong Kong Chinese children (82 girls and 73 boys; 47 aged 8 years, 51 aged 11 years and 57 aged 14 years), 70 BBC children (35 girls and 35 boys; 21 aged 8 years, 27 aged 11 years and 22 aged 14 years), and 91 were Scottish children (49 girls and 42 boys; 25 aged 8 years, 38 aged 11 years and 28 aged 14 years). The recruitment of the sample has been described in Chapter 3 (section 3.4). The detail of distribution of age has been present in Chapter 3 (Table 3.4). The groups were age matched across Hong Kong Chinese and Mainland Chinese, as well as BBC and Scottish for the purpose of comparison. A smaller number of BBC children participated in the study because the population comprises a numerically small proportion of people in Scotland.

#### **4.3.2 Measures**

Two questionnaire-based measures were selected for use in the study: The “Who am I” self-description questionnaire” (Kuhn & McPartland, 1954) and the “Modified Harter Self-esteem Questionnaire” (Hoare et al., 1993) (see Appendix D). This section will describe the questionnaires, the rationale for selecting them, the reliability and coding.

##### ***The “Who am I?” Self-description Questionnaire***

The self-description questionnaire is derived from the Twenty Statements Test (TST) (Kuhn & McPartland, 1954), which has been widely used in cross-cultural psychology to elicit descriptions of the self-concept (Carpenter & Meade-Pruitt, 2008). The TST provides a direct measure of an individual’s self-concept and is also easy to use. It has been successfully utilized to examine ethnic differences, gender differences, generational differences and cultural effects in self-concept (Carpenter & Meade-Pruitt, 2008; Grace & Cramer, 2002; McRoy, Zurcher, Lauderdale, & Anderson, 1982; Lund, Caserta, Diamond, & Gray, 1986; Watkins, Mortazavi, &

Trofimova, 2000). It is also useful for cross-cultural comparisons, as the format is easy for respondents from a variety of cultures to understand (Carpenter & Meade-Pruitt, 2008). The advantage of using TST is that it is able to identify which categories are most frequently generated within a group and to make cross-cultural comparisons of the frequent categories (Watkins et al., 2000). In response to the “I am...” format, participants may generate descriptions that most frequently apply to themselves or alternatively they may generate descriptions that they consider to be the most important to them. Although frequency and importance-based descriptions might be related, Kihlstrom and Cantor (1984) suggested that these two aspects could also reasonably be considered as independent constructs in research.

In the current study, in order to investigate cross-cultural differences in children’s sense of themselves, a modified version of the TST suitable for children was applied, in which the children were asked to respond in ten, instead of twenty, blank spaces which followed open ended statements “I am ..., I am ..., I am ....” Furthermore, following the argument made by Kihlstrom and Cantor (1984) that it is useful to consider the differences of descriptiveness and importance of self-concept, two additional questions were asked: “Which one do you think is the most important?” “Which one do you think is the second most important?” In order to have a better understanding of children’s sense of self in regards to who they compare themselves to, “Who do you compare yourself to?” was added as another additional question.

In line with previous research which used content analysis of children’s descriptions of themselves (Livesley & Bromley, 1973; McGuire & McGuire, 1988), content analysis was used to code the “Who am I” self-description questionnaire responses. The first step involved looking through all the responses and establishing an appropriate categorical system into which the answers could be fitted. Categories are ethnic identity, national identity, gender identity, human identity, community identity, ability, personality, appearance, relationship, age, occupation, hobby, imaginary self, and future self. The coding and examples are been given in Table 4.1 and Table 4.2.

**Table 4.1 Coding of identities and examples with the nationalities that would fit that identity in brackets**

<b>Identity</b>	<b>Example</b>
1. Ethnic identity	I am a descendant of the Chinese dragon (Chinese). I am Chinese (British born Chinese)
2. National identity	I am Chinese (Chinese or Hong Kong Chinese) I am British (British born Chinese or Scottish)
3. Gender identity	I am a girl.
4. Human identity	I am a human.
5. Community identity	I am a resident of xx district.
6. Ability	I am good at singing.
7. Personality	I am helpful.
8. Appearance	I am a handsome boy.
9. Relationship	I am a daughter of my mother.
10. Age	I am 8 years old.
11. Occupation	I am a student.
12. Hobby	I am a person who loves painting.
13. Imaginary self	I am the pure water. / I am a lovely lion.
14. Future self	I am a scientist. / I am a fireman.

**Table 4.2 Coding of comparison between self and others**

<b>Code number</b>	<b>Category</b>
1.	Classmates
2.	Friends
3.	Parents/Grandparents
4.	Brothers/Sisters/Cousins
5.	Do not know/ no one
6.	Others (e.g. cartoon characters, everyone, people of the same age, celebrity)

To assess the inter-rater reliability of the coding, the first twenty coded questionnaires completed by Chinese children and fifteen questionnaires completed

by white Scottish children were given to one Mandarin native speaking researcher and one English native speaking researcher to code. Afterwards, the similarities and the discrepancies in coding were compared following standard procedures for content analysis (Livesley & Bromley, 1973; McGuire & McGuire, 1988). Inter-judge reliability was 89% for the English speaking coder and 93% for the Chinese speaking coder. In addition, to test the intra-rater reliability, a sample of 25 questionnaires of the data was coded twice by the same researcher, revealing 100% reliability. Both inter-rater reliability and intra-rater reliability were high and subsequent coding was completed by a single researcher. Through this coding procedure participants' responses in the "Who am I" self-description questionnaire were coded into categories outlined in Tables 4.1 and 4.2.

For the purpose of statistical analysis, the fourteen emergent categories (see Table 4.1) were recoded into three broader categories, in line with Brewer and Gardner's (1996) representation of the social self in terms of three levels of self-construal: individual level; interpersonal level; and group level. At the individual level, the personal self "contains those aspects of the self-concept that differentiate the person from other persons as a unique constellation of traits and characteristics that distinguishes the individual within his or her social context" (Sedikides & Brewer, 2002, p.1). At the interpersonal level, the relational self "contains those aspects of the self-concept that are shared with relationship partners and define the person's role or position within significant relationships" (Sedikides & Brewer, 2002, p.1). At the group level, the collective self "corresponds to the concept of social identity as represented in social identity theory and self categorization theory" (Turner, Hogg, Pakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987, p. 84). Table 4.3 shows the level of representation of the self.

**Table 4.3 Level of representation of the self**

Level of Analysis	Self-concept	Basis of self-evaluation	Frame of reference	Basic Social Motivation
<b>Individual</b>	Personal	Traits	Interpersonal Comparison	Self-interest
<b>Interpersonal</b>	Relational	Roles	Reflection	Other's benefit
<b>Group</b>	Collective	Group Prototype	Intergroup Comparison	Collective welfare

Based on the Brewer and Gardner (1996) framework of social self (see Table 4.3), the fourteen identity categories from the “Who am I?” self-description questionnaire were recoded into ‘personal self’, ‘relational self’ and ‘collective self’ categories. Details of how the fourteen categories were grouped are provided in Table 4.4.

**Table 4.4 Three new categories of social self and the allocations from the 14 emergent categories**

New categories	Emergent categories
1=collective self	1=ethnic identity, 2=national identity, 3=gender identity, 4=human identity, 5=community identity, 11=occupation, 10=age
2= individual self	6=ability, 7=personality, 8=appearance, 12=hobby, 13=imaginary self 14=future self
3= relational self	9=relationship

### ***The Modified Harter Self-Esteem Questionnaire***

The Modified Harter Self-Esteem Questionnaire (Hoare et al., 1993) was selected to examine the cross cultural differences in self-esteem among four groups of children.

Harter (1985) standardized the original version of the questionnaire on 1543 children in the USA. Its construction was based on two principles. Firstly, self-esteem has several components or dimensions. Secondly, the children's evaluation of their self-esteem is based on a comparison of their attributes with those of their peers. The Harter Self-Esteem Questionnaire is designed as a self-completed questionnaire including 36 items, measuring global-esteem (questions 6, 12, 18, 24, 30, 36), and five separate subscales: scholastic performance (questions 1, 7, 13, 19, 25, 31), social acceptance (questions 2, 8, 14, 20, 26, 32), athletic competence (questions 3, 9, 15, 21, 27, 33), physical acceptance (questions 4, 10, 16, 22, 28, 34), and behaviour of children (questions 5, 11, 17, 23, 29, 35) (see Appendix D1). In each subscale, three of the items reflect high competence or adequacy; whilst the other three items represent low competences. The Harter Self-Esteem Questionnaire has several applications. Firstly, it measures age trends of self-esteem for children between age 8 and age 13, providing evidence of continuity and discontinuity of self-esteem. Secondly, it provides normative values to measure the self-esteem within and between participants. The Harter Self-Esteem Questionnaire shows the Cronbach's Alpha reliability values ranged from 0.71 (the behavior subscale) to 0.86 (the athletic subscale) (Harter, 1985).

In response to Harter's suggestion of testing the questionnaire from other populations, Hoare et al. (1993) modified the Harter Self-Esteem Questionnaire to apply to Scottish school children aged 8-15 years old. The Modified Harter Self-Esteem Questionnaire (Hoare et al., 1993) can be used to measure children's self-esteem between different groups and changes of self-esteem following intervention or psychological adjustments. Compared with other children's self-esteem questionnaires, choosing the Modified Harter Self-Esteem Questionnaire in the current study has several advantages. Firstly, the questions are understandable and applicable to children in terms of the content and wording. Secondly, it tests the self-esteem from different dimensions, so it reflects adequately the developmental changes in self-esteem during childhood. Thirdly, the Modified Harter Self-Esteem Questionnaire was successfully used with Scottish school children aged 8-15 years old (Hoare et al., 1993). The modified Harter Self-Esteem Questionnaire shows



within each subscale, the Cronbach's alpha reliability ranged from 0.72 to 0.83 (Hoare et al., 1993).

#### **4.3.3 Translation process for research instruments**

Since there is no Chinese version of the Harter Self-Esteem Questionnaire (Hoare et al., 1993), a questionnaire translation and back translation was conducted, following the procedure of a study which used the Rosenberg Self-Esteem questionnaire in 53 countries (Schmitt & Allik, 2005). In the current study, both questionnaires: "who am I" self-description questionnaire and modified Harter Self-Esteem Questionnaire (Hoare et al., 1993) were translated from English into simplified Chinese (for Mandarin speaking children) (see Appendix D2) and traditional Chinese (for Cantonese speaking children) (see Appendix D3) independently by one Mandarin native speaker and one Cantonese native speaker for the purpose of this research. The translated versions of the questionnaires were checked by another two native speakers, and any discrepancies resolved by discussion. The agreed questionnaires were then back-translated into English by a third independent translator and the back-translations were compared with the original English version of questionnaire in order to ensure that there was no alteration in meanings in the process of translation (Brislin, 1970).

Given the different language versions of the modified Harter Self-Esteem Questionnaire, the reliability of the translated questionnaires was considered. In the current study, the internal reliability of the translated Modified Harter Self-Esteem Questionnaire was calculated by Cronbach's alpha for each group. The Cronbach's alpha reliability value for all participants of four groups together was .79. For global subscale was .70. For scholastic subscale was .70. For social acceptance subscale was .51. For athletic was .70. For physical was .72. For behavior was .67. The Cronbach's alpha reliability value was .73 for the BBC sample, .83 for the Chinese sample, .77 for the Scottish sample and .72 for the Hong Kong Chinese sample. The similarity between these reliability values and those reported by Harter (1985) and Hoare et al. (1993) confirms that the translated questionnaire obtained a normative value.

#### **4.3.4 Procedure**

After the initial agreement of the schools to participate in Study 1, the researcher brought a poster of the study, a sample of the questionnaire, consent forms, and disclosure to the school during a visit to introduce the study. The purpose of the visit was to clarify to the school staff how the study would be conducted with children and parents within the school, and how the data would be used. Any questions raised by the schools were fully answered. After the schools approved the questionnaire, consent forms were distributed to the parents of the students in the required age groups. The parents were assured in the consent forms that their children's responses would be treated confidentially and anonymously, and that research data would be stored securely. For the 47 BBC children who participated in the research outside the school setting, parental consent was achieved before the study started, and the study was conducted in a place, and in a time which was convenient to the participants.

After the parental consent forms had been returned, appointments were scheduled with the schools or parents at their earliest convenient time. The school teachers organized the children to gather together in a quiet class room during school time to complete the two questionnaires: the "Who am I" self-description questionnaire (Kuhn & McPartland, 1954) and Modified Harter Self-esteem Questionnaire (Hoare et al., 1993). After establishing rapport with the children, it was explained that the researcher was interested in finding out what children thought of themselves. Reassurance was given that this was not a test, there were no right or wrong answers; that their name and answers would not be revealed to others, and they could withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason (Loewenthal & Snell, 2001). The two questionnaires took 25-30 minutes to administer and complete on a group basis.

#### **4.4 Results**

In this results section, cross-cultural differences and age differences of social identity have been analyzed first based on the "Who am I" self-description questionnaire (Kuhn & McPartland, 1954) and cross cultural differences and age differences of

self-esteem have been analyzed according to the modified Harter Self-Esteem Questionnaire (Hoare et al.,1993). The relationship between social identity and self-esteem is presented and followed with a general conclusion of this section.

#### **4.4.1 Social identity among four groups of children**

In this section, the sequence of results will be presented. Firstly, overall percentage of the identities has been mentioned by four cultural groups of children are mentioned. Some cross cultural differences of self-identification and some interesting descriptions found in children's "Who am I" self-description questionnaires are highlighted. Further on, cross-cultural differences of social identity by using one-way ANOVA are provided. Moreover, effects of age and cultural groups on three types of social identity are calculated by using two-way ANOVA. Finally, comparison between self and other among four cultural groups is assessed.

In the "Who am I" self-description questionnaire, the responses of four cultural groups of children have been initially categorized into fourteen social identities. The percentage of each ethnic group that mentioned a particular identity is shown in the table 4.5.

**Table 4. 5 The percentage of each ethnic group that mentioned a particular identity**

	Mainland Chinese (N=148)	Hong Kong Chinese (N=155)	British born Chinese (N=70)	White Scottish (N=91)
<b>National Identity</b>	21.6%	15.5%	14.3%	7.7%
<b>Gender Identity</b>	43.9%	27.7%	30.0%	11.0%
<b>Relationship</b>	53.4%	27.1%	22.9%	8.8%
<b>Occupation</b>	64.2%	38.7%	18.6%	3.3%
<b>Hobby</b>	50.7%	45.2%	37.1%	20.9%
<b>Imaginary Self</b>	35.1%	14.8%	7.1%	2.2%
<b>Future Self</b>	20.3%	7.1%	1.4%	1.1%
<b>Community Identity</b>	6.1%	24.5%	17.1%	1.1%
<b>Appearance</b>	15.5%	38.1%	21.4%	16.5%
<b>Ethnic Identity</b>	4.1%	1.9%	35.7%	3.3%
<b>Human Identity</b>	23.0%	29.7%	30.0%	11.0%
<b>Age</b>	14.9%	16.8%	28.6%	7.7%
<b>Ability</b>	31.8%	50.3%	72.9%	79.1%
<b>Personality</b>	88.5%	76.8%	84.3%	96.7%

This table shows that a higher percentage of Mainland Chinese children mention national identity, gender identity, relationship, occupation, hobby, imaginary self and future self. Hong Kong Chinese children have higher percentages who mention their community identity and appearance. British born Chinese children have higher percentages who mention ethnic identity, human identity, and age. White Scottish children show higher percentages who mention their ability and personality.

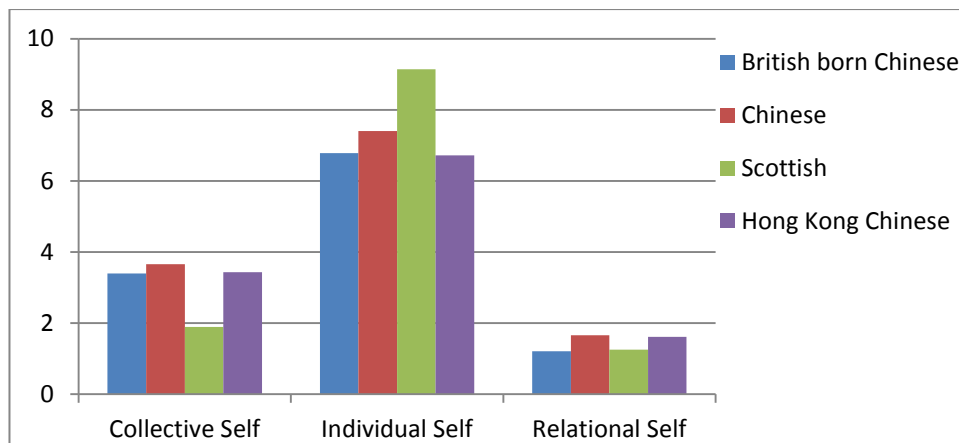
In addition, it was observed that there are two main differences between Mainland Chinese and the rest of the children in the categories of their social identity. The first difference is evident in the relationship category: 53.4% of Mainland Chinese children, 27.1% of Hong Kong Chinese children, 22.9% of BBC children, and 8.8 % of white Scottish children identified an aspect of identity that fitted this category. The percentage of Mainland Chinese children who referred to a relationship identity very frequently indicated that they have a central role in the family unit “I am the precious child of the family” “I am the hope of my parents” “I am the little

princess/prince at home.” However, this type of description rarely occurred in Hong Kong Chinese, BBC and white Scottish children’s self-descriptions. It may reflect the “one child policy” in Mainland China. The second difference is Chinese children’s use of a greater number of metaphors in their self-description. 35.1 % of Mainland Chinese, 14.8 % of Hong Kong Chinese, 7.1% of BBC, and 2.2 % of white Scottish children referred to their imaginary self. Examples include “I am a lovely monkey” “I am the pure water” “I am the sound of music.” The high percentage of Mainland Chinese children who mentioned the imaginary self may reflect the style of Chinese writing which encourages students to use more metaphors. For example, “I am a lovely monkey” means he/she has a hyper character. “I am a pistachio nut” in Chinese language suggests he/she has a good sense of humour. It is also worth to note that Mainland Chinese children’s frequency of describing an imaginary self decreased with age. 40% of Chinese children aged 8 years and 40% aged 11 years referred to an imaginary self, and this number dropped to 20% in the 14 year old age group. Regarding their future self, 20.3% of Mainland Chinese, 7.1% of Hong Kong Chinese, 1.4% of BBC and 1.1% of white Scottish children provided descriptions, such as “I am a scientist”, “I am a pilot”, “I am a president.” Chinese children’s tendency to produce descriptions of professional roles, such as “a doctor”, “a scientist”; may reflect their parents’ expectation of them (Chao & Sue, 1996). Mainland Chinese children’s description of their future self also decreased with age: 40% of 8 years age group mentioned future self and this dropped to 12% in the 11 years age group and 10% in the 14 years age group.

To investigate the cross-cultural differences in terms of social identities across the four groups of children, the mean number of responses falling into the re-coded categories of collective self, individual self and relational self by cultural group is presented (see Figure 4.1). An independent one way ANOVA showed that there were significant differences in mean scores of collective self between the groups, ( $F(3, 291)=4.93, p<.01$ ). Post hoc pairwise comparison confirmed that BBC, Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese showed more responses in the category of collective self than white Scottish children did (BBC:  $M=3.40, SD=1.91$ ; Chinese:  $M=3.66, SD=2.19$ ; Hong Kong Chinese:  $M=3.43, SD=2.40$ ; white Scottish:  $M=1.89, SD=1.40$ ). There

were also significant differences between the groups with respect to mean scores for individual self, ( $F(3, 456)=19.94, p=.001$ ). Post hoc pairwise comparison revealed that white Scottish children made reference to more examples of individual self than BBC, Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese children (white Scottish:  $M=9.14, SD=1.40$ ; BBC:  $M=6.87, SD=2.61$ ; Chinese:  $M=7.40, SD=2.49$ ; Hong Kong Chinese:  $M=6.72, SD=2.86$ ). There were, however, no statistically significant differences between the four groups with respect to mean scores for relational self. Although failing to reach statistical significance the trend was that Mainland Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese children made numerically more references to relational self than BBC and white Scottish children (Chinese:  $M=1.66, SD=1.08$ ; Hong Kong Chinese:  $M=1.61, SD=0.80$ ; BBC:  $M=1.21, SD=0.58$ ; Scottish:  $M=1.25, SD=0.46$ ).

**Figure 4.1 Mean scores of collective self, individual self and relational self across the groups**



To investigate cross cultural differences in the relative importance of collective self, individual self, and relational self, two additional questions were added to the “Who am I?” self-description questionnaire: (1) “Please circle the one which is the most important and tell me why”; and (2) “Please circle the one which is the second most important and tell me why.” For each of the four groups, the percentages of the most important identity category and the second most important identity category are presented in Table 4.6 and Table 4.7.

**Table 4.6 The percentage of each group that rated items within each of the three categories as most important**

	BBC (N=70)	Chinese (N=148)	Scottish (N=91)	Hong Kong Chinese (N=155)
<b>Collective Self</b>	28.6%	25.0%	8.8%	22.6%
<b>Individual Self</b>	68.6%	57.4%	89.0%	69.0%
<b>Relational Self</b>	2.9%	17.6%	2.2%	8.4%

**Table 4.7 The percentage of each group that rated items within each of the three categories as most important groups**

	BBC (N=70)	Chinese (N=148)	Scottish (N=91)	Hong Kong Chinese (N=155)
<b>Collective Self</b>	14.3%	14.9%	5.5%	21.3%
<b>Individual Self</b>	75.7%	70.3%	91.2%	72.9%
<b>Relational Self</b>	2.9%	14.9%	2.2%	5.8%

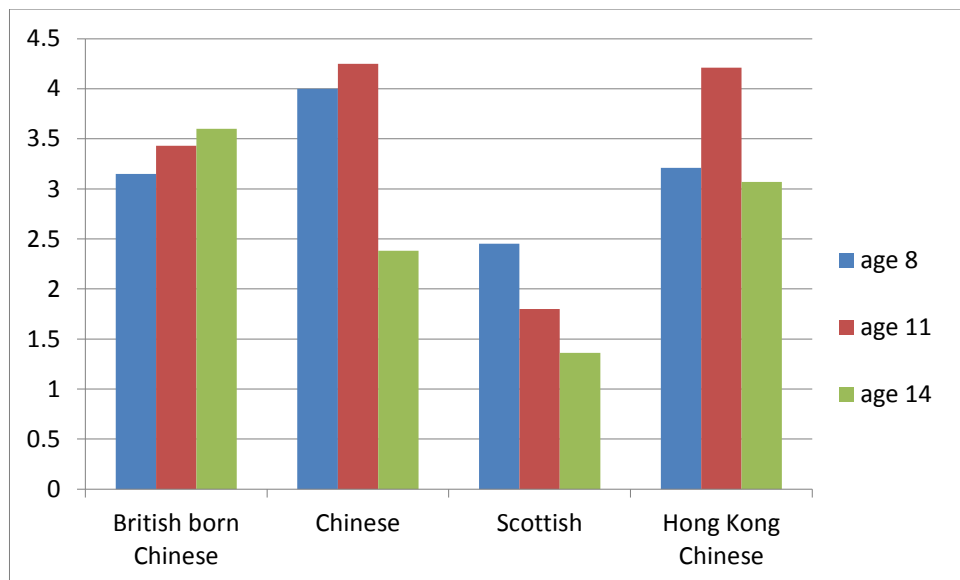
Table 4.6 shows that in all four groups of children the majority considered an aspect of individual self as the most important identity to them. Comparing across the four cultural groups, BBC, Mainland Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese show a higher percentage of collective self responses than white Scottish children, whereas white Scottish children show a higher percentage of individual self responses than the other three groups. Mainland Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese children show more relational self than BBC children and white Scottish children. A chi-square test showed there was a strong association between children's choice of the most important identity (collective identity, individual identity, relational identity) and child cultural groups ( $\chi^2 (6, 464) = 36.64, p < .01$ ).

In a similar vein, Table 4.7 shows the second most important identity among four cultural groups of children. The results are similar to table 4.5, except that Mainland Chinese children considered collective self and relational self equally as the second most important identity. There was significant variation between the four cultural groups of children with respect to their choice of the second most important identity

( $\chi^2 (9, 464) = 52.23, p < .01$ ). These results correspond well with the results previously presented, in that Mainland Chinese, Hong Kong Chinese and BBC score higher in collective self, whereas Scottish children score higher in individual self.

Additionally, analyses were carried out to investigate how social identity within the four cultural groups of children changes with age. The following figures (Figures 4.2, 4.3 & 4.4) show the mean number in each social identity category (collective identity, individual identity and relational identity) among the four groups of children across the three age groups. Two-way ANOVAs were used to analyze the age differences among four ethnic groups in collective self, individual self and relational self separately.

**Figure 4.2 Mean of collective self among four groups of children across age 8, 11 and 14 years**

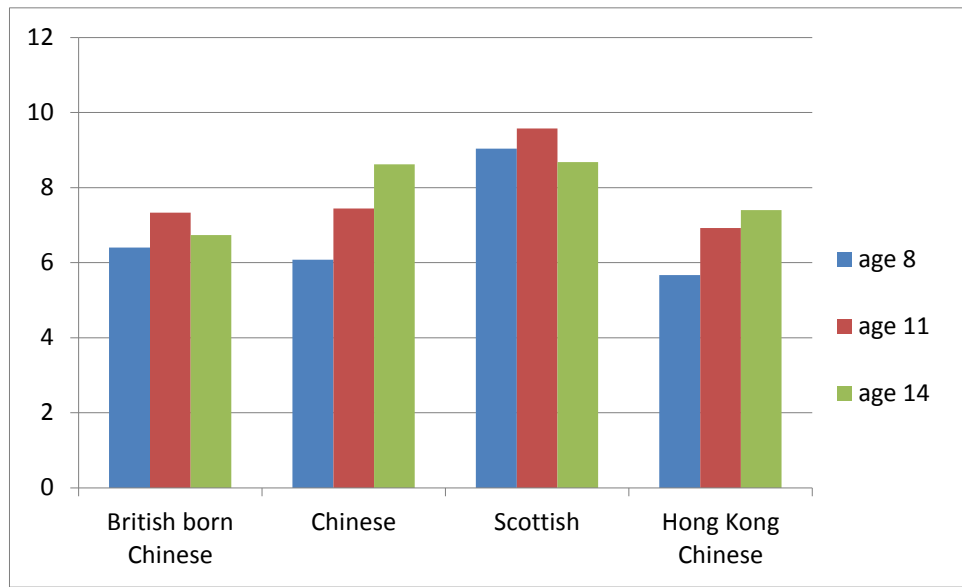


The figures show different patterns of development of self-identity for the four cultural groups of children with age. A two-way ANOVA was conducted to examine the effect of ethnic group and age on collective self. Levene's test for equality of error variances is less than .05, thus the null hypothesis of equal variances is rejected. There was a significant effect between the ethnic groups and collective identity ( $F (3, 283) = 4.31, p < .01$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .044$ ). Least Significance Differences *post hoc* tests (LSD) revealed significant differences between Chinese and white Scottish ( $p < .001$ ),



between Hong Kong Chinese and white Scottish ( $p<.001$ ), and between BBC and white Scottish ( $p<.01$ ). There was no significant effect of age on collective self ( $F(2, 283) = 2.61, p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.018$ ). Finally, there was no significant interaction between age and ethnic groups in collective self ( $F(6, 283) = 1.61, p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.033$ ).

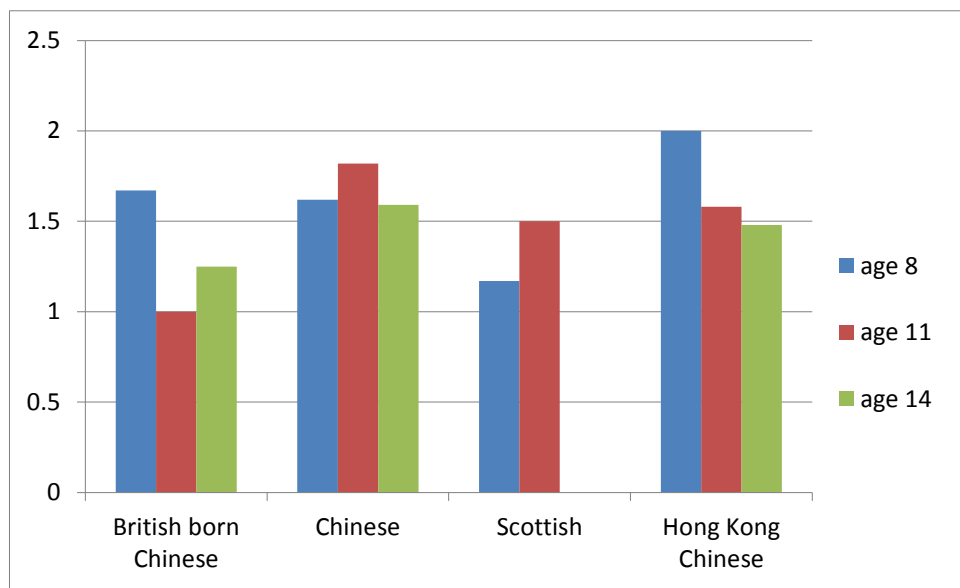
**Figure 4.3 Mean of individual self among four groups of children across age 8, 11 and 14 years**



A two-way ANOVA was conducted to examine the effect of ethnic group and age on individual self. Levene's test for equality of error variances is less than .05, thus the null hypothesis of equal variables is rejected. There was a significant effect between the cultural groups and individual identity ( $F(3, 448)=21.32, p<.001$ , partial  $\eta^2=.125$ ). LSD *post hoc* tests revealed significant differences between Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese ( $p<.05$ ), and between white Scottish and the other three ethnic groups: white Scottish and Hong Kong Chinese ( $p<.001$ ), white Scottish and Chinese ( $p<.001$ ) and between white Scottish and BBC ( $p<.001$ ). There was a significant effect between the age and individual self ( $F(2, 448)=8.20, p<.001$ , partial  $\eta^2=.035$ ). LSD *post hoc* tests revealed significant differences between age 8 years and age 11 years ( $p<.001$ ) and between age 8 and age 14 ( $p<.001$ ). There was also significant interaction between age and ethnic groups in individual self ( $F(6, 448) = 2.87, p<.01$ , partial  $\eta^2=.037$ ). LSD *post hoc* tests revealed significant differences between age groups

among Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese children. In the Chinese group, the significant differences are between age 8 years (mean=6.08) and age 11 years (mean=7.44) ( $p<.01$ ), age 8 years and age 14 years (mean=8.62) ( $p<.001$ ) and between age 11 years and age 14 years ( $p<.05$ ). In the Hong Kong Chinese group, the significant differences lay between age 8 years (mean=5.67) and age 11 years (mean=6.92) ( $p<.05$ ) and between age 8 years and age 14 years (mean=7.40) ( $p<.001$ ).

**Figure 4.4 Mean of relational self among four groups of children across age 8, 11 and 14 years**

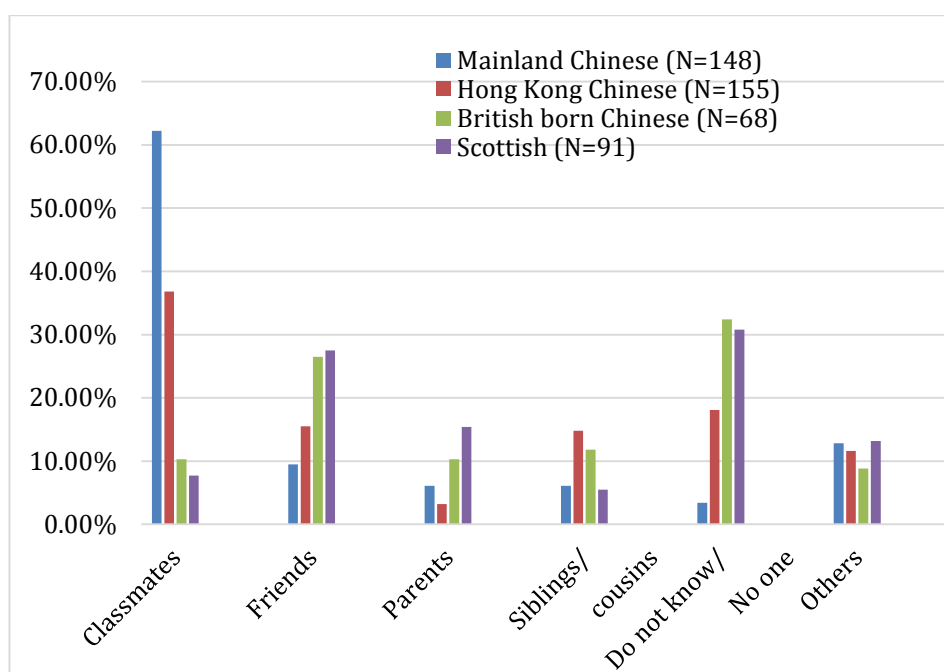


A two-way ANOVA was conducted to examine the effect of ethnic group and age on relational self. Levene's test for equality of error variances is less than .05, thus the null hypothesis of equal variables is rejected. There was no significant effect of ethnic group on relational self ( $F(3,129)=0.83$ ,  $p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.019$ ). There was no significant effect of age on relational self ( $F(2, 129) = 0.37$ ,  $p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.006$ ). There was also no significant interaction between age and ethnic group on relational self ( $F(5,129) = 0.60$ ,  $p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.022$ ).

In the “Who am I” self-description questionnaire, one last question asked to the participants was “Can you tell me who do you compare yourself to in general? And why?” The purpose of this question is to investigate cultural differences in children’s

sense of self in terms of who they compared themselves to. The answers were coded into six categories based on content analysis (see Figure 4.5 & Table 4.7). The data were analyzed using chi-square tests. The result show that there were differences between ethnic groups with respect to their choices of who they compare themselves to ( $\chi^2 (15, 462)=131.07, p<.001$ ). From figure 4.5, it is evident that Mainland Chinese children and Hong Kong Chinese are more likely to compare themselves with classmates. However, white Scottish children and BBC children are less likely to make comparison with the others. If they do, they are more likely to compare themselves with their friends.

**Figure 4.5 Frequencies of comparison between self and other among four groups**



**Table 4.8 Frequencies of comparison between self and other among four cultural groups**

	Mainland Chinese (N=148)	Hong Kong Chinese (N=155)	BBC (N=68)	Scottish (N=91)
Classmates	62.2%	36.8%	10.3%	7.7%
Friends	9.5%	15.5%	26.5%	27.5%
Parents	6.1%	3.2%	10.3%	15.4%
Siblings/cousins	6.1%	14.8%	11.8%	5.5%
Do not know/ No one	3.4%	18.1%	32.4%	30.8%
Others	12.8%	11.6%	8.8%	13.2%

The data in Table 4.8 suggest that children in Mainland China and Hong Kong are more likely to be influenced by classmates. However, children who have grown up in the UK (BBC and white Scottish children) are not as likely to compare themselves to others. If they compare themselves to others, they are more likely to compare themselves to friends. Compared with Mainland Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese, children in Scotland (BBC and white Scottish children) are more likely to be influenced by friends and parents. Most Mainland Chinese children are the only child at home, so there is not the opportunity for Chinese children to be influenced by siblings. However, siblings are quite an influential factor for Hong Kong Chinese and BBC children, but not for white Scottish children.

#### **4.4.2 Self-esteem among four cultural groups of children**

This analysis was carried out to investigate the different perspectives of self-esteem among four ethnic groups of children. The average score of six subscales of self-esteem was compared across the four ethnic groups. The minimum score of each subscale is 1 and maximum score is 4. As shown in Table 4.9 below, the mean score indicated that four ethnic groups of children scored above or close to the mean (2.50) in each sub scale of self-esteem. It means that on average participating children from the four ethnic groups had a satisfactory level of self-esteem. White Scottish children showed higher self-esteem than the other cultural groups except in the subscale of scholastic performance. Mainland Chinese children scored the highest in scholastic

self-esteem. Hong Kong Chinese children had the lowest self-esteem in comparison with the other three cultural groups of children.

**Table 4.9 Mean score of Modified Harter Self-esteem Subscales by four ethnic groups**

Subscale	Ethnic Group			
	Mean scores for sub-scales in self-esteem (SD)			
	Mainland Chinese (N=148)	BBC (N=70)	Hong Kong Chinese (N=155)	Scottish (N=91)
<b>Social Acceptance</b>	2.70 (.54)	2.79 (.59)	2.64 (.46)	3.01 (.56)
<b>Scholastic</b>	2.91 (.57)	2.84 (.59)	2.63 (.61)	2.82 (.68)
<b>Physical Acceptance</b>	2.70 (.70)	2.62 (.57)	2.45 (.63)	2.81 (.73)
<b>Athletic Competence</b>	2.60 (.70)	2.62 (.56)	2.49 (.66)	2.85 (.62)
<b>Behavior</b>	2.95 (.53)	2.86 (.62)	2.71 (.52)	3.06 (.71)
<b>Global</b>	2.92 (.65)	2.94 (.49)	2.79 (.62)	3.09 (.60)

Note: Minimum score is 1 and maximum score is 4.

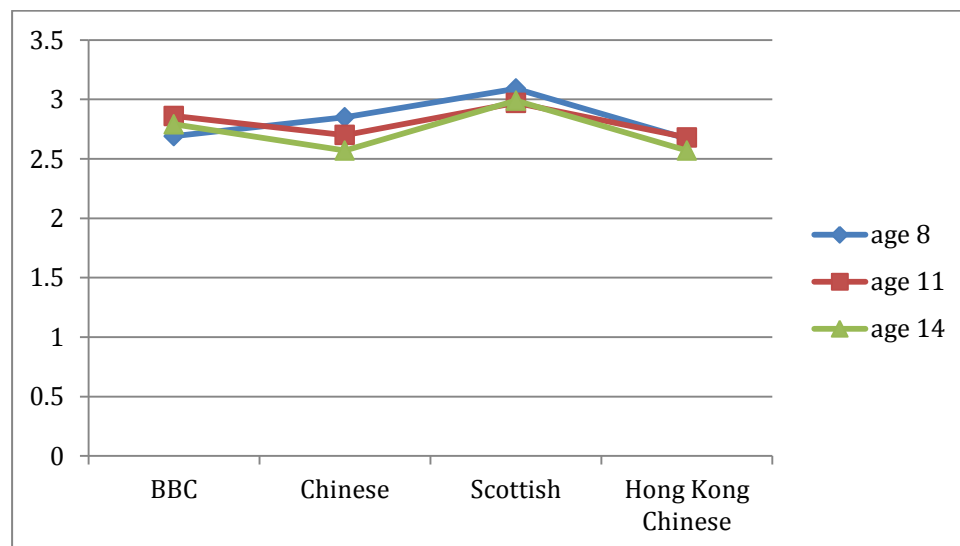
One-way ANOVAs revealed significant cultural group mean score differences for several self-esteem subscales. For Social acceptance ( $F=10.34$ ,  $df=3$ ,  $p<.001$ ) Hochberg's GT2 *post hoc* tests<sup>1</sup> revealed significant differences between BBC and white Scottish ( $p<.05$ ), between Mainland Chinese and white Scottish ( $p<.001$ ), and between Hong Kong Chinese and white Scottish ( $p<.001$ ). For Scholastic performance ( $F=5.59$ ,  $df=3$ ,  $p=.001$ ) Hochberg's GT2 *post hoc* tests revealed significant differences between Mainland Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese ( $p=.001$ ). There were also cultural differences for Physical acceptance self-esteem ( $F=6.44$ ,  $df=3$ ,  $p<.001$ ), Hochberg's GT2 *post hoc* tests revealed significant differences

<sup>1</sup> Hochberg's GT2 *post hoc* tests are selected because the four ethnic groups' sample sizes are varied significantly (Andy, 2009).

between Mainland Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese ( $p=.01$ ), and between white Scottish and Hong Kong Chinese ( $p<.001$ ). Athletic competence self-esteem differed as a function of cultural group ( $F=5.68$ ,  $df=3$ ,  $p=.001$ ) and Hochberg's GT2 *post hoc* tests revealed significant differences between Mainland Chinese and white Scottish ( $p<.05$ ) and between Hong Kong Chinese and white Scottish ( $p<.001$ ). Behavior self-esteem also revealed cultural differences ( $F=8.13$ ,  $df=3$ ,  $p<.001$ ) and Hochberg's GT2 *post hoc* tests revealed significant differences between Mainland Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese ( $p<.01$ ) and between white Scottish and Hong Kong Chinese ( $p<.001$ ). Finally Global self-esteem varied across the cultural groups ( $F=4.56$ ,  $df=3$ ,  $p<.01$ ) and Hochberg's GT2 *post hoc* tests revealed significant differences between white Scottish and Hong Kong Chinese ( $p<.01$ ).

The next stage of the analysis is focused on cultural group differences in self-esteem across the three age groups. The figures below (Figures 4.6, 4.7, 4.8, 4.9, 4.10 & 4.11) show the means of different subscales scored by four cultural groups of children in three different age groups.

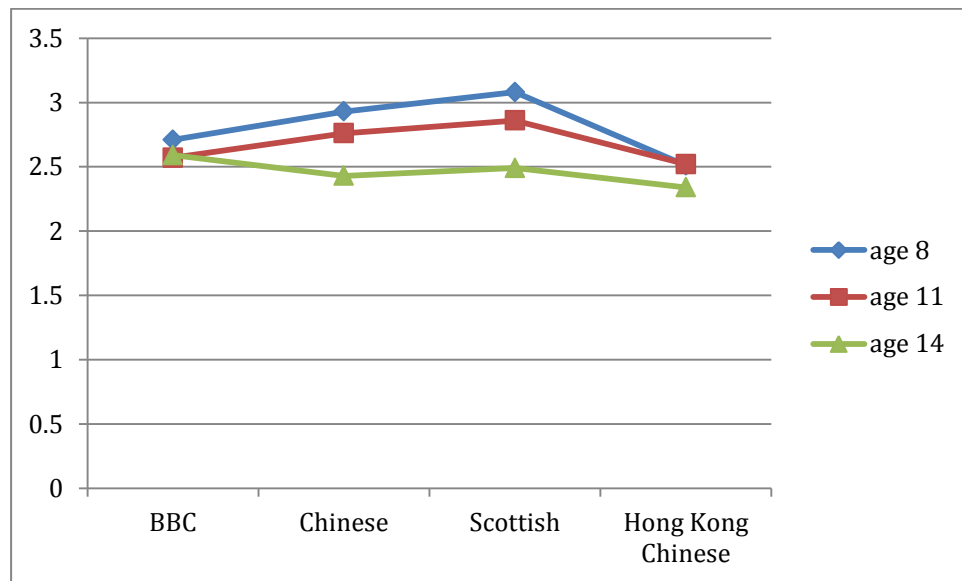
**Figure 4.6 Mean score of social self-esteem sub-scale among four ethnic groups across age**



**Social self-esteem:** A two-way ANOVA was conducted to examine the effect of cultural group and age on social sub scale self-esteem. Levene's test for equality of error variances is less than .05, thus the null hypothesis of equal variables is rejected.

There was a significant main effect of cultural groups on social self-esteem ( $F(3, 444) = 10.29, p < .001$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .67$ ). LSD *post hoc* tests revealed significant differences between Hong Kong Chinese and white Scottish ( $p < .001$ ), between Mainland Chinese and white Scottish ( $p < .001$ ), and between BBC and Hong Kong Chinese ( $p < .05$ ). There was no significant effect of age on social self-esteem ( $F(2, 444) = 1.21, p > .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .01$ ) and no significant interaction between age and cultural groups ( $F(6, 444) = 0.91, p > .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .01$ ).

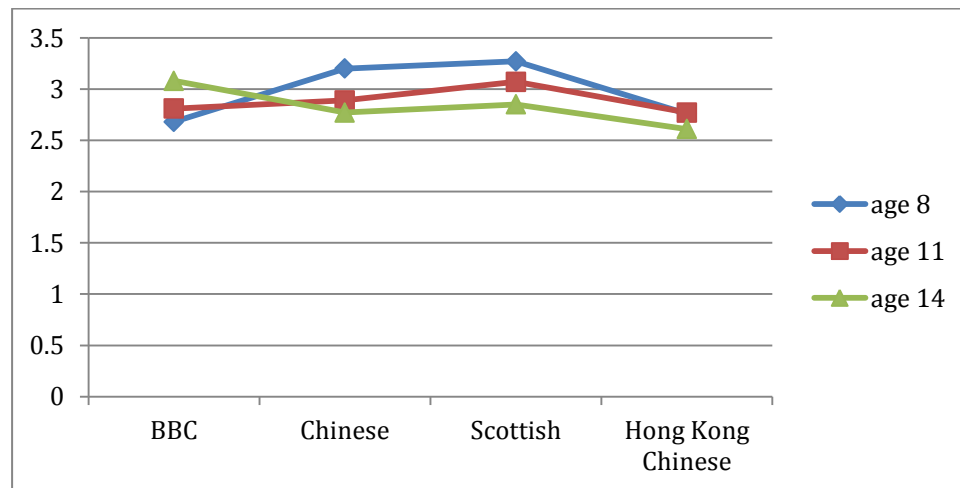
**Figure 4.7 Mean score of physical self-esteem sub-scale among four ethnic groups across age**



**Physical self-esteem:** A two-way ANOVA was conducted to examine the effect of cultural group and age on the physical sub scale of self-esteem. There was homogeneity of variance between groups as assessed by Levene's test for equality of error variances. There was a significant effect of cultural group on physical self-esteem ( $F(3, 440) = 6.56, p < .001$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .04$ ). LSD *post hoc* tests revealed significant differences between Mainland Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese ( $p = .001$ ), and between white Scottish and Hong Kong Chinese ( $p < .001$ ). There was also a significant effect of age on physical self-esteem ( $F(2, 440) = 9.30, p < .001$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .04$ ). LSD *post hoc* tests revealed significant differences between age 8 and age 14 ( $p < .001$ ), and between age 11 and age 14 ( $p < .01$ ). Children's physical self-esteem

reduces with age. There was no significant interaction between age and cultural groups in physical self-esteem ( $F(6, 440) = 1.23, p > .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .02$ ).

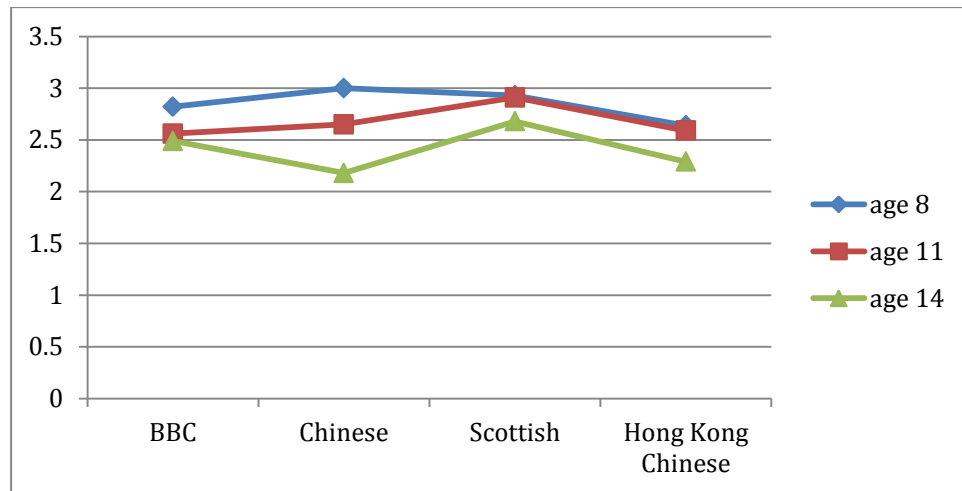
**Figure 4.8 Mean score of behaviour sub-scales of self-esteem among four ethnic groups across age**



**Behaviour self-esteem:** A two-way ANOVA was conducted to examine the effect of cultural group and age on the behavior sub scale of self-esteem. Levene's test for equality of error variances is less than .05, thus the null hypothesis of equal variables is rejected. There was significant effect of cultural groups on the behavior sub scale of self-esteem ( $F(3, 444) = 8.41, p < .001$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .05$ ). LSD *post hoc* tests revealed significant differences between BBC and white Scottish ( $p < .05$ ), between Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese ( $p < .001$ ), and between white Scottish and Hong Kong Chinese ( $p < .001$ ). There was no significant effect of age on behavior self-esteem ( $F(2, 444) = 2.29, p > .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .01$ ). There was, however, a significant interaction between age and cultural group in behavior self-esteem ( $F(6, 444) = 3.35, p < .01$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .04$ ). Pairwise comparison shows for the BBC children, significant differences between age 8 and age 14 ( $p < .05$ ), and in the Mainland Chinese children, the significant difference between age 8 and age 11 ( $p < .01$ ) and between age 8 and age 14 ( $p < .001$ ), in the white Scottish children, the significant differences are between age 8 and age 14 ( $p < .01$ ). There were no age differences for Hong Kong children ( $p > .05$ ).

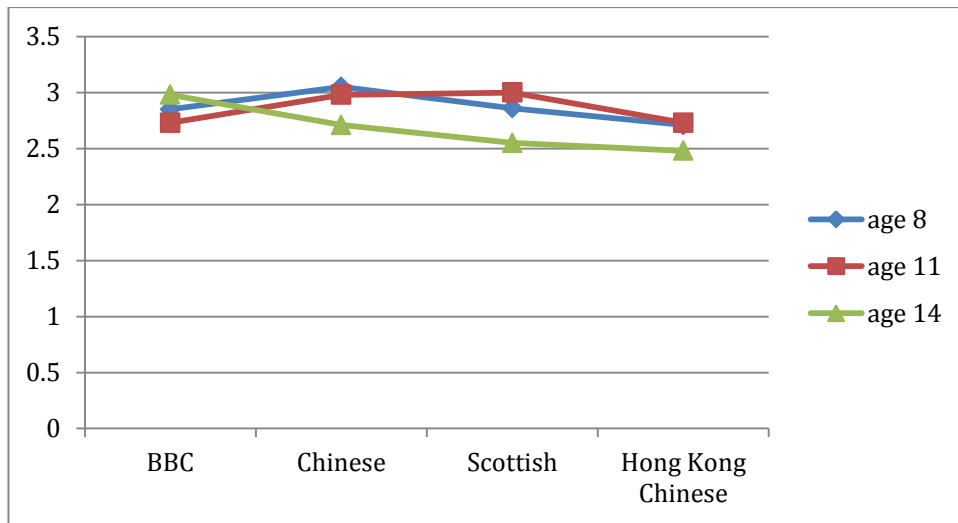


**Figure 4.9 Mean score of athletic self-esteem sub-scale among four ethnic groups across age**



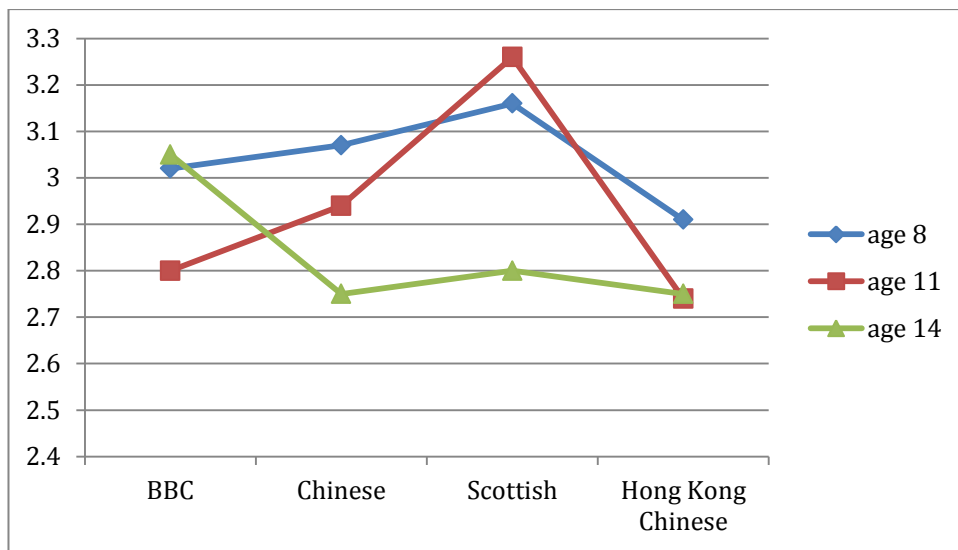
A two-way ANOVA was conducted to examine the effect of ethnic group and age on athletic sub scale self-esteem. There was homogeneity of variance between groups as assessed by Levene's test for equality of error variances. There was a significant effect of cultural group on athletic self-esteem ( $F(3, 444) = 5.58, p < .001$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .04$ ). LSD *post hoc* tests revealed significant differences between Chinese and white Scottish ( $p < .01$ ), between Hong Kong Chinese and white Scottish ( $p < .001$ ), and between BBC and white Scottish children ( $p < .05$ ). There was significant effect of age on athletic self-esteem ( $F(2, 444) = 6.27, p < .001$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .07$ ). LSD *post hoc* tests revealed significant differences between age 8 and age 11 ( $p < .05$ ), between age 8 and age 14 ( $p < .001$ ), and between age 11 and age 14 ( $p < .001$ ). There was no significant interaction between age and cultural group on athletic self-esteem ( $F(6, 444) = 2.02, P > .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .03$ ).

**Figure 4.10 Mean score of scholastic self-esteem sub-scale among four ethnic groups across age**



A two-way ANOVA was conducted to examine the effect of cultural group and age on scholastic sub scale self-esteem. There was homogeneity of variance between groups as assessed by Levene's test for equality of error variances. There was a significant effect of cultural group on scholastic self-esteem ( $F(3, 445) = 5.58, p < .001$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .04$ ). LSD *post hoc* tests revealed significant differences between Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese ( $p < .01$ ), between white Scottish and Hong Kong Chinese ( $p < .05$ ), and between BBC and Hong Kong Chinese ( $p < .05$ ). There was a significant effect of age on scholastic self-esteem ( $F(2, 445) = 1.49, p < .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .02$ ). LSD *post hoc* tests revealed significant differences between age 8 and age 14 ( $p < .001$ ), and between age 11 and age 14 ( $p < .001$ ). There was no significant interaction between age and cultural group on scholastic self-esteem ( $F(6, 445) = 1.87, p > .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .03$ ).

**Figure 4.11 Mean score of global self-esteem sub scale among four ethnic groups across age**



A two-way ANOVA was conducted to examine the effect of ethnic group and age on the global sub-scale of self-esteem. There was homogeneity of variance between groups as assessed by Levene's test for equality of error variances. There was a significant effect of cultural group on global self-esteem ( $F(3, 444) = 4.06, p < .01$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .04$ ). LSD *post hoc* tests revealed significant differences between Chinese and white Scottish ( $p < .05$ ), and between Hong Kong Chinese and white Scottish children ( $p < .001$ ). There was a significant effect of age on global self-esteem ( $F(2, 444) = 3.67, p < .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .02$ ). LSD *post hoc* tests revealed significant differences between age 8 and age 14 ( $p < .01$ ). There was no significant interaction between age and cultural group on global self-esteem ( $F(6, 444) = 1.93, p > .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .03$ ).

In summary, although it is noticed that ethnicity is not the only reason to influence children's self-esteem, children's self-esteem scores differed significantly across the four cultural groups in six sub scales of self-esteem. Children's self-esteem scores differed significantly across the age groups in scholastic self-esteem, athletic self-esteem, physical self-esteem and global self-esteem. There is a significant interaction between age and ethnic groups in behavior self-esteem. However, it is important to note in interpreting the results, that there are other factors besides ethnicity that

might influence children's self-esteem, such as gender (Alpert-Gillis & Connell, 1989).

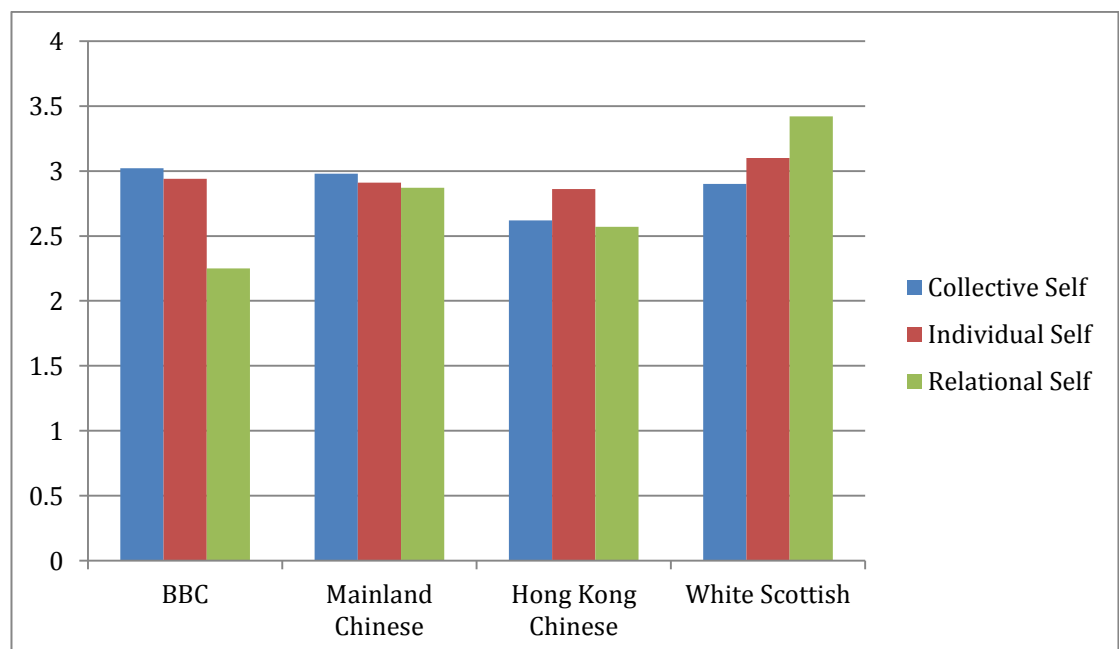
#### **4.4.3 Relationship between social identity and self-esteem**

As reviewed in chapter 1 (section 1.2.3) and in the early part of this chapter, social identity has been shown to be associated with self-esteem as enhancing self-esteem is considered the motivation for seeking a positive social identity (Rubin & Hewstone, 1998). Therefore, in the next analysis the association, if any, between social identity and global self-esteem among four groups of children, is explored by using ANOVAs. In the "Who am I" self-description questionnaires, children were asked to select the most important identity and the second most important identity. The first step was to conduct a one-way ANOVA to examine whether global self-esteem would vary among children's selection of the important social identity types. The second step was to conduct a two-way ANOVA that used global self-esteem score as dependent variable, with the important social identity types and cultural groups as factors to explore patterns of difference in self-esteem by group and social identity type.

Two one-way ANOVAs were conducted to examine the effect of global self-esteem in modified Harter Self-Esteem Questionnaire on children's selection of the important identities in "Who am I" self-description questionnaire with all the children. Firstly, a one-way ANOVA was conducted to examine the effect of the most important identity in "Who am I" self-description questionnaire. There was no statistically significant effect of the most important identity and global self-esteem ( $F(2, 453)=1.52, p>.05$ ). Collective self ( $M=2.88, SD=0.62$ ), individual self ( $M=2.94, SD=0.63$ ), relational self ( $M=2.77, SD=0.54$ ). The other one-way ANOVA was conducted to examine the effect of the second most important identity in "Who am I" self-description questionnaire. There was also no significant difference of the second most important identity and global self-esteem ( $F(2, 447)=2.21, p>.05$ ). Collective self ( $M=2.80, SD=0.62$ ), Individual self ( $M=2.94, SD=0.62$ ), relational self ( $M=2.79, SD=0.63$ ).

A two-way ANOVA was conducted to examine the effect of the most important social identity and cultural groups on global self-esteem. Insignificant effects were found between: (1) the cultural groups and global self-esteem ( $F(3, 444) = 1.67$ ,  $p > .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .011$ ) (2) the most important social identity type and global self-esteem ( $F(2, 444) = 0.55$ ,  $p > .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .002$ ). Finally, there was no significant interaction between cultural group and the most important social identity type in global self-esteem ( $F(6, 444) = 0.98$ ,  $p > .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .013$ ). Figure 4.12 showed the detailed mean score of global self-esteem on the most important social identity among four cultural groups.

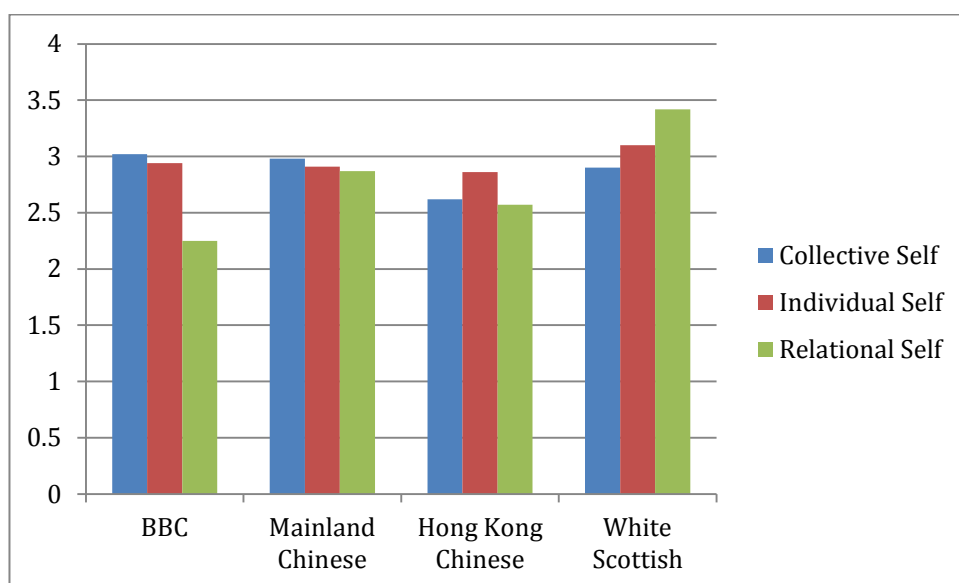
**Figure 4.12 Mean score of global self-esteem on the most important social identity among four cultural groups**



The other two-way ANOVA was conducted to examine the effect of the second most important social identity and cultural group on global self-esteem. There was a significant effect of cultural group on global self-esteem ( $F(3, 438) = 2.91$ ,  $p < .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .02$ ). LSD *post hoc* tests revealed significant differences between Chinese and white Scottish ( $p < .05$ ), and between Hong Kong Chinese and white Scottish ( $p < .001$ ). Insignificant effects were found between the second most important social identity type on global self-esteem ( $F(2, 438) = 0.78$ ,  $p > .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .004$ ). There

was no significant interaction between the second most important social identity type and cultural group on global self-esteem ( $F(6, 438) = 1.13, p > .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .002$ ). Figure 4.13 showed the detailed mean score of global self-esteem on the second most important identity among four cultural groups. The result showed that global self-esteem did not differ on the individual level of the importance of social identity type. In addition, the intertwining effect of the two variables did not explain the change in global self-esteem.

**Figure 4.13 Mean score of global self-esteem on the second most important identity among four cultural groups**



## 4.5 Discussion

This study provides a cross-cultural quantitative exploration of social identity and self-esteem among four cultural groups of children at age 8, 11 and 14 years. It addresses three questions by looking at data from 464 children from Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Scotland. The first question is whether differences in culture are associated with differences in children's sense of social identity and whether children's perception of their social identity changes with age. The second question is whether self-esteem differs across the ethnic groups, and change with age. The third question is whether there are links between children's different perceptions of

their social identity and global self-esteem. The following sections will discuss the results of each question in turn.

#### **4.5.1 Cross-cultural differences of children's understanding of social identity**

The findings from the present study support the argument that culture plays an important role in shaping children's understanding of themselves (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Firstly, although four groups of children are strongest in individual self of social identity, a higher proportion of white Scottish children identify with an individual self in their descriptions of their social identity than the children from Chinese cultures. By contrast, a higher proportion of BBC, Mainland Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese children identify with a collective self than white Scottish children. Mainland Chinese children also attached a high value to their relational self. This is in line with previous literature as detailed in Chapter 2 (section 2.2), suggesting that Chinese culture emphasizes collectivism (COL), and the UK, which represents Western culture, emphasizes individualism (IND). As was mentioned in Chapter 2, COL and IND are two different conceptions representing different cultures (Triandis, et al., 1988), however, there is lack of empirical studies to validate the cultural frame between COL and IND. In addition, most of the previous studies which have examined identity formation have focused on adolescents and adults (e.g. Cheng, 2004). The findings from the current study contribute to the literature in two ways. Firstly, they indicate that all four cultural groups of children emphasize the individual self more than they emphasize the collective self. However, there are significant differences between children with a Chinese background and white Scottish children in the extent to which they emphasize the collective self and the individual self. Children with a Chinese background emphasized the collective self more than white Scottish children did, whereas White Scottish children emphasized individual self more than Chinese children did. The current finding also provides evidence that this cultural difference occurs in children from as young as the age of 8. In addition, the fact that BBC children are more like the other Chinese groups in terms of children's social identity than the white Scottish children makes an important statement about the BBC children's sense of identity. Despite growing up

in Scotland, their sense of social identity aligns with their ethnicity as Chinese, suggesting that the collective way of thinking is represented in the home. However, in terms of the question of “who do you compare yourself to?”, the similarity between the two UK cultural groups of comparing themselves to others suggests that this is one aspect of UK culture where the ethnic influence is minimal for BBC children.

Some responses in Mainland Chinese children’s “Who am I” self-description reflect a particularly Chinese way of expressing identity. Mainland Chinese children more often gave responses referring to their own unique place in the family, such as “I am the little King at home.” “I am the princess at home.” This pattern may be a side effect of the “one child” policy in China. Since 1979, a one child policy was enforced for the purpose of controlling the population and reducing the strain of scarce resources (Hesketh, Lu & Xing, 2005). As the only child, he or she becomes the only heir of the family. Therefore, they are a focus of attention for the whole family. The data also show that 35% of Mainland Chinese children, 15% of Hong Kong Chinese children and 7% of BBC, in contrast to 2% of white Scottish children, use metaphor as a way to express themselves. Thus, it can be said that culture deeply influences the way children perceive and identify themselves. As this is novel data, it cannot be compared to any study so far to explain why Mainland Chinese children use so many metaphorical expressions and white Scottish children do not.

#### **4.5.2 Developmental aspects of children’s understanding of social identity**

The data shows that there is a significant effect of age and cultural group on the individual self among Mainland Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese children. The data revealed that Mainland Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese children’s sense of individual self increases with age. It confirms that individual self identity development is also existent in children from a collective cultural background. It is noticeable that in table 4.2, BBC children’s sense of collective self increases with age, however, the sense of collective self in all of the other groups has declined in the 14-year-old group. Moreover, the pattern of collective self in BBC children is



opposite to that of the white Scottish group in that the trend is to decrease with age, but the trend goes slightly up for the BBC group with age. If the collective self is influenced by the ethnic/home culture, this indicates that BBC teenagers do not develop away from that home culture as they get older. A possible cause is that the ethnic minority group of BBC children is numerically small in Scotland and that therefore ethnic culture becomes more important to them through childhood to adolescence. This is in line with the literature that ethnic identity is more important to ethnic minority groups of children (Phinney, 1992) (also see Chapter 1, section 1.2.3). This is also consistent with Park and Song's work (2007) on BBC youth's belonging and identity through discussion in websites (see review in Chapter 2, section 2.3.4). The discussion through the BBC websites showed that BBC children value their ethnic identity and they created a new ethnicity which embraced both British and Chinese culture. In addition, the data also show that the frequency with which Chinese children use metaphoric ways to describe themselves decreases with age. It is in line with the statement presented earlier in this chapter (see section 4.1.2) that young children's conceptions of their social identities principally depend on personal and behavioral attributes, and older children's identities are related to belief-based attributes (Sani & Bennett, 2004). An alternative explanation is that parents do not use the metaphors with the children as they get older because it is more a small child term of endearment. Older children /young teenagers would be embarrassed to say so. The interesting findings of young Chinese children use metaphoric terms to express their social identity are needed for the future studies.

#### **4.5.3 Cross-cultural differences in children's self-esteem**

Although all four cultural groups of children have relatively high scores for self-esteem, there are significant differences in children's self-esteem among the four cultural groups. Overall, white Scottish children have the highest self-esteem except regarding the scholastic subscale, and Hong Kong Chinese children have the lowest self-esteem. There are significant differences among the groups regarding the six self-esteem subscales. White Scottish children have higher social acceptance self-esteem than all the other groups of children (BBC, Mainland Chinese, and Hong Kong Chinese). Mainland Chinese children have the highest scholastic self-esteem.

There are no significant differences between BBC children and white Scottish children regarding the six self-esteem subscales. This finding is in line with previous research, which investigated self-esteem among 1303 British Chinese, white British and Hong Kong Chinese (Chan, 2000) (see Chapter 1, section 1.2.3). Chan's study (2000) revealed that BBC children have a high level of self-esteem, which is similar to that of white British children, and Hong Kong children have lower self-esteem. However, the two studies are different in terms of measurements. Chan's (2000) study used the Coopersmith (1967) Self-Esteem Inventory, which treats self-esteem as a unitary concept. Using the Harter self-esteem questionnaire in the current study enabled me to compare the children's self-esteem across each of the six subscales. In addition, the current study not only compares Hong Kong Chinese, BBC and white British children, as Chan (2000) did, but also compares those three groups of children with Mainland Chinese children. Each of these four groups differs with respect to the cultural influences children have been exposed to in Western and Eastern cultures. The current study thus extends the range of cross-cultural comparison beyond that of Chan's (2000) study and in so doing constitutes a substantial addition to the richness of the data.

Despite the social disadvantage that BBC children may face in real life, they still have positive self-esteem. One possible explanation is that children have positive attitudes towards themselves because they are integrated very well into Scottish society. Alternatively, although they may suffer social disadvantages in society, they might still have a positive feeling about themselves because of their strong sense of ethnic identity (Phinney, 1990). In contrast, Hong Kong Chinese children have lower self-esteem, indicating that they have less positive feeling about themselves. According to Chan (2000), lower self-esteem of Hong Kong Children can be attributed to the Confucian values of being moderate, humble and conforming in behavior. However, Mainland Chinese children are also influenced by Confucian values but do not show lower self-esteem than Hong Kong Chinese children. An alternative explanation may be that the colonial history of Hong Kong and its consequent hybrid society (see more information in Chapter 2, section 2.5) has somehow affected children's self-esteem.

#### **4.5.4 Developmental sequences of children's self-esteem**

Most aspects of self-esteem show little variation across cultural groups; yet, there was a significant relation between age and ethnic groups in behaviour self-esteem. BBC children, aged 14 (mean=3.08) have higher behavior self-esteem than aged 8 (mean=2.68). In comparison, Mainland Chinese children, aged 8 (mean=3.20) have higher behavior self-esteem than aged 14 (mean=2.77) and aged 11 (mean=2.89). Scottish children aged 8 (mean=3.27) have higher behavior self-esteem than 14 year-olds (mean=2.85). There is a reverse pattern of the development of self-esteem across the groups. BBC children have higher self-esteem regarding their behaviour as they are getting older. In contrast, white Scottish and Chinese children have higher self-esteem about their behaviour when they are younger. This indicates that children's behavior self-esteem changes with age, however, the trend is different for children from different cultural backgrounds.

#### **4.5.5 Relationship of children's social identity and self-esteem**

The fifth finding is related to the question of whether there is a relationship between social identity and self-esteem among different ethnic groups. The findings reveal that children's global self-esteem does not differ according to the social identity type of the four ethnic groups. This finding differs from SIT (Tajfel, 1978) which suggests that there is relationship between social identity and self-esteem. The following explanation for the finding of no differences in self-esteem across social identity types in Study 1 is provided. Although social identity theory suggests a relationship between social identity and self-esteem (Rubin & Hewstone, 1998) (see chapter 1, section 1.2.3), there is a lack of empirical research to support the general social identity measurements. Although social identity is a multi-dimensional term, most of the empirical studies are focused on examining specific aspects of social identity such as ethnic identity and self-esteem (Phinney & Chavira, 1992; Taylor, 2004). The most widely used measurement to examine ethnic identity is Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) (Phinney, 1992). MEIM is grounded in Erikson's theory of identity formation (Erikson, 1968). It assesses four aspects of ethnic identity: positive ethnic attitudes and belonging, ethnic identity of achievement,

ethnic behaviours or practices and other group orientation. The MEIM has been successfully used to assess ethnic identity across diverse ethnic groups (Phinney & Ong, 2007). However, MEIM is not suitable for the current study for several reasons. Firstly, the current study does not aim to examine children's ethnic identity alone, but also includes a more broad way of examining children's perception about themselves in society, when they come from different cultural backgrounds. Secondly, MEIM is designed to assess ethnic identity in adolescents and adults not in children and young adolescents, who are the focus of this thesis. The participants in the current study are examined from age 8, age 11 and age 14 years and would not be able to understand the MEIM, an important reason not to select this measure for this age range.

The other possible explanation for no differences between types of social identity and self-esteem in this study is the fact that the "Who am I" self-description questionnaire is an open-ended measurement. While it gives an opportunity to explore cross-cultural differences of children's sense of themselves, it is not designed to measure pre-identified specific items, which can be correlated to self-esteem measurements. The "Who am I" self-description questionnaire enables the researcher to create simple categories. These categories indicate core differences in the way the children see themselves in relation to their society, and it appears that the categories are strongly influenced by culture.

#### **4.5.6 Conclusion**

The cross-cultural differences reported in Study 1 provide evidence of cultural differences in social identity and self-esteem of children aged 8 to 14 years. The results indicate that children from all background place greatest emphasis on individual identity, however, those children from ethnic Chinese backgrounds (Mainland Chinese, Hong Kong Chinese and BBC) attach greater significance to a collective self-identity than white Scottish children, whereas white Scottish children attach greater significance to their individual self-identity than the Chinese cultural groups do. All children from the four cultural groups have relatively high self-esteem. From a developmental perspective, the sense of individual self among Mainland

Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese children increases with age. However, there is a different pattern of behavioural self-esteem development across the ethnic groups.

Study 1 reveals the important message that the way BBC children see themselves is more closely aligned with Chinese cultural thinking than with mainstream white Scottish culture. This suggests a more complex social identity for BBC children than the identities of the other three groups. The question arises of where BBC children see themselves as belonging in the tension between cultural identity and national identity. To examine this aspect of dual identity, the next chapter will report the findings of Study 2, which narrows the focus of this thesis to BBC and white Scottish children who share the same social and national context. Study 2 will explore BBC and white Scottish children's ethnic/national categorization, ethnic/national identification and their intergroup attitudes towards the Chinese and the Scottish.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **STUDY 2: SELF IDENTIFICATION AND INTERGROUP ATTITUDES BETWEEN BBC AND WHITE SCOTTISH CHILDREN**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

The findings from the preceding chapter are useful in understanding the cross-cultural differences in social identity and self-esteem among Mainland Chinese, Hong Kong Chinese, BBC and white Scottish children. Study 1, including the four cultural groups of children, identified a number of cultural group similarities and differences in social identity. One important distinction in their social identity stood out: The “Who am I?” self-description questionnaire analysis showed that individual self is the most important social identity across four cultural groups of children. However, collective forms of identity were more frequent in Chinese children including BBC children compared to white Scottish children. Furthermore, individual aspects of identity were significantly more frequent among white Scottish children than BBC children. Yet BBC children share much of their social environment with white Scottish children, so this marked difference in perception of social identity between the two groups of children merits closer study. These patterns of findings cannot be explained by differences in country of birth or residence, as all the children are Scottish and have grown up in Scottish cities and attend mainstream Scottish schools. Instead it is likely to have an aspect of ethnic identity as its source, based on the culture associated with the parents’ origin and the children’s own sense of their ethnicity and racial heritage.

As was reviewed in chapter 1 (section 1.3.1), race refers to physical, biological, and genetic features of a person’s attributes. Physical appearance is one of the most important attributes of concepts of racial differences (Hirschfeld, 2005). Based on the differences in appearance between different racial groups, children form racial categories from the pre-school age. “Ethnicity” by contrast with concepts of race primarily refers to social environmental characteristics, such as customs, religious practices and language usage (Quintana, 1999). Finally, national identity is a sense of a person’s belonging to a state or to a nation (Smith, 1993). Children’s perceptions of

national identity and ethnic identity are developed through childhood to adolescence (Barrett, 2007). The development of children's ethnic and national attitudes is influenced by social cultural and psychological factors (See Chapter 1, section 1.3.3).

Another characteristic that sets the BBC children apart from the other three groups is that, in their prevalence as a population in their country of residence, BBC children constitute a numerically smaller ethnic group in Scotland (Office for National Statistics, 2006). So they are faced with the task of understanding both the Chinese and Scottish cultures and where they fit within those cultures, living with their dual cultural heritage and minority status within the larger society. Hence, the current chapter focuses specifically on the children who share their geographic and national environment with associated culture, but differ in racial and ethnic identity: BBC children (minority group) who are immersed in two cultures, and white Scottish children (majority group). The concept of nationality is simple but because aspects of race and culture are associated with nationality, they may overlap in children's developing understanding of social identity.

Study 2 thus takes a deeper look at issues of ethnicity and nationality in BBC children compared to their white Scottish peers. The purpose of the current study is to explore BBC and white Scottish children's national and ethnic identifications and evaluations of Chinese and Scottish people across three age groups: 8, 11 and 14 years old.

### **5.1.1 Development of children's national identification**

As outlined in Chapter 1 (section 1.3.3), previous studies examining children's awareness of national geographies were reviewed. These studies found a developmental trend in children's understandings of nations. A rudimentary understanding is evident from 5 or 6 years onwards (Barrett, 1996; Bouchier, Barrett, & Lyons, 2002). In the subsequent years until adolescence, children's knowledge of people who come from different countries develops considerably (Barrett & Short, 2011). By age 10 or 11 years, children are able to make detailed descriptions of the characteristics of people from their own and other countries, such as physical

features, clothing and language, but at this age, children still have some geographic confusion (Barrett & Short, 2011; Bouchier et al., 2002). This developmental trend is important for the current study because the study applied the developmental approach to explore whether BBC and white Scottish children's national identity develops through middle childhood and into adolescence.

Not only do children understand something about nations, they also categorise themselves as members of national groups and identify with their own national group. The studies found that children, as young as 5 or 6 years of age, begin to categorise themselves as members of their national group (Bouchier et al., 2002). However, Bouchier et al. (2002) showed that at a younger age (6-7-year-olds), children's gender, age and local city identities are more important to them than their national identity, whereas, in middle childhood, their sense of national identity will become more important. The importance of national identity will overtake that of city identity and age identity in children at age 11 or age 12 years (Bouchier et al., 2002).

### **5.1.2 Development of in-group and out-group attitudes**

The developmental trend in national identification outlined above is important because evidence suggests that group identification motivates individuals to make a positive evaluation of their in-group (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). As was reviewed in Chapter 1 (section 1.2.1), SIT (Tajfel, 1978) proposes that people show more preference to in-groups than out-groups for a number of dimensions of comparison. Hence, SIT predicts a positive correlation between the clear identification of the nationality of the self and positive evaluation of the national in-group (Verkuyten, 2001). In addition, CDT (Aboud, 1988, 2008) and SIDT (Nesdale, 2004, 2008) also predict the developmental changes of children's intergroup attitudes (see review in Chapter 1, sections 1.3.1 and 1.3.2).

Set within this theoretical context a range of studies has explored the development of children's evaluations of different national groups. An adjective card sorting task is widely used to evaluate children's intergroup attitudes. Barrett, Wilson and Lyons (2003) investigated the development of national in-group bias with 307 children age



between 5 to 11 years old. The research used the attribution task which included 16 cards: 'clean', 'dirty', 'happy', 'sad', 'peaceful', 'aggressive', 'clever', 'stupid', 'hardworking', 'lazy', 'friendly', 'unfriendly', 'good', 'bad', 'nice' and 'not nice'. English children were asked to attribute adjectives to their own national group and one of two national out-groups: American and German. Their results revealed that all ages showed a positive in-group bias, but there was an increase with age in the negative adjectives attributed to English people (in-group) and positive adjectives attributed to Americans and Germans (out-groups). The preference for members of the national in-group over national out-group is associated with the acquisition of knowledge about national groups (Barrett, 2001; Bennett et al., 1998). Between 5 and 11 years of age, the overall degree of liking of all national out-groups increases. Then, after 11 years of age, the positive regard for national out-groups starts to decline. Based on this research evidence, this study applied an adjective card-sorting task to examine whether BBC and white Scottish children's liking towards out-groups will increase between 8 to 11 years old, and decline after 11 years of age.

As well as previous studies looking at the development of children's views of national differences, there have also been some studies that have looked at children's evaluations of ethnic/racial groups within national contexts. Aboud (2003) claimed that an increase in positive regard for ethnic out-groups happens at the same age as for national out-groups (see Chapter 1, section 1.3.1). A longitudinal study was conducted to examine white children's (age 6 and 9 years old) prejudice towards Black children and Native Indians (Doyle & Aboud, 1995). The study applied Preschool Racial Attitude Measure II (PRAM II) and a Multiple-response Racial Attitude Measure (MRA). The result showed in favour of white and unfavourable of black did not change across the ages; however, unfavourable of white and in favourable of black increased with age. The trend in decline in prejudice implies that there is a similar pattern of children's development of perceptions about different races.

Although research conducted on the ethnic attitudes towards ethnic minority children has been limited, one study has explored ethnic minority and majority group

children's attitudes towards ethnic in-group and out-groups (Davis et al., 2007). The sample consisted of 112 children aged 5, 7 and 9 years old respectively. Of 112 children, 51 were white British and 61 were black British. Black British children showed more positivity to the black British in-group, whereas white British children showed more positivity to black groups rather than their in-groups. The positive attitudes toward black children in Britain attributed by white British and black British children placed a high value on black culture (Davis et al., 2007). There is similarity between Davis et al.'s (2007) study and Study 2 reported in this chapter: they both examined ethnic majority and ethnic minority groups in the UK. Study 2 of this thesis examines intergroup relationship between BBC children living in Scotland and white Scottish children.

In sum, relatively fewer studies have examined national or ethnic group preferences among ethnic minority children, and it remains unclear whether the development of intergroup relationships among ethnic minority children would fit the general developmental trend of white majority children. The aim of Study 2 of this thesis is to fill this gap in the literature.

## **5.2 The present study**

Study 2 focuses on two groups of children living in Scotland, one of which is an ethnic majority group: white Scottish children, whereas the other is an ethnic minority group: BBC children. Conducting the research with BBC children in a Scottish setting is helpful for a number of reasons. Firstly, previous research on the British Chinese population has mainly focused on people living in England. The ethnic minority in Scotland is proportionally smaller than that in England and composition and pattern of settlement are different from those in England (Netto, Arshad, de Lima, Diniz, & MacEwen, 2001). Secondly, as it was reviewed in Chapter 2 (section 2.4), 'Scottish' is itself a minority identity within the UK, whereas English is the majority identity. Thus, Scottish children might be aware of Scottish identity more independently in comparison to English children's awareness of being 'English' (Bennett et al., 1998). Therefore, it is speculated that research with BBC

children in Scotland may be different from that in England from both empirical and theoretical points of view.

Study 2 uses established measures card sorting tasks (Bennett et al., 1998; Reizabal, Valencia, & Barrett, 2003). It included three small tasks. The first task involves asking children “where are you from?” to investigate self-categorisation in three social conditions: China, Scotland and United States of America (USA). Including the USA as an additional country makes it possible to examine children’s self-categorization responses from a neutral country and to test whether there are any differences in the responses between the neutral country and the countries of the children’s ethnic and national origins. The second task showed children cards that refer to their identity as Scottish or Chinese to explore the extent of their national identifications. The third task used adjective sorting cards to evaluate children’s preference for national in-group and out-group. Although the groups shared their national identity, and so might be expected to consider Scottish as their in-group, a sense of affiliation to the Chinese national identity through parents and culture might prompt BBC children to perceive Chinese people as their in-group and Scottish people as their out-group.

Study 2 addresses the following four main research questions:

1. How do BBC and Scottish children categorize themselves in terms of nationality, and is there any development of self-categorisation across age groups?

Prediction 1: As explained in chapter 1 (section 1.3.3) and earlier in this chapter (section 5.1.1), children’s knowledge of national identity grows throughout childhood and adolescence (Barrett, 2005). At the age of 8, they are able to differentiate their own country from other countries. Therefore, it was predicted that BBC and white Scottish children would categorise themselves as Scottish in any national context (China, Scotland and USA). As children’s knowledge about other countries grows in middle childhood (See Chapter 1, section1.3.3), it was predicted that more BBC and white

Scottish children will identify Scotland as their national group as they grow older.

2. To what degree do BBC children identify with their national identity as Scottish versus their ethnic identity as Chinese, and how does the strength of national identification compare with that of Scottish children? Are there any differences in ethnic/national identification across age groups?

Prediction 2: BBC children are influenced by both Chinese and Scottish culture; therefore, it is predicted that they will value Chinese and Scottish identity equally. Scottish children are predicted to identify themselves only as Scottish. Based on development of children's ethnic and national identification (see section 5.1.1 and Chapter 1, section 1.3.2), BBC children are more likely to identify themselves as both Chinese and Scottish as they grow older. Scottish children's understanding of their national identity should remain the same across the three age groups.

3. How positively or negatively do BBC and Scottish children perceive Chinese and Scottish people? Are there any developmental changes of children's intergroup attitudes across age groups? Is there any relationship between the strength of liking of each national group and the positive evaluation of the group?

Prediction 3: Based on SIT (Tajfel, 1978), children attribute more positive traits to in-groups and negative traits to out-groups. The prediction is that BBC children will attribute more positive traits to Chinese people than to Scottish people, whereas white Scottish children are predicted to attribute more positive traits to Scottish than to Chinese people. Regarding the development of children's intergroup attitudes (see section 5.1.2 and chapter 1, sections 1.3.1 and 1.3.2), both CDT (Aboud, 1988, 2008) and SIDT (Nesdale, 2004, 2008) presented that children attributed more positive traits to in-group than to the out-groups as they grow older. Therefore, with increasing age, BBC children are predicted to attribute more positive traits to Chinese people whereas white Scottish children would attribute more positive

traits to Scottish people. SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) proposed that the development towards a preference of in-groups and curtailing of regard for out-groups is motivated by the individual needs for positive self-esteem (see Chapter 1, section 1.2.1). Therefore, if the individuals strongly identify themselves as belonging to a particular social group, the in-group would receive a more positive evaluation in the dimension of comparing in-groups with the out-groups. Thus, SIT predicts a relation between the strength of in-group identification and the degree of preference for the in-groups. In study 2, it is predicted that if BBC children have a stronger identification with Chinese or Scottish identity, they will have an increased affinity for Chinese or Scottish people accordingly.

## **5.3 Methods**

### **5.3.1 Participants**

The sample consisted of 161 BBC and white Scottish children aged 8, 11 and 14 years old living in Scotland, drawn from 16 mainstream schools and Chinese communities (the detail of recruitment information is shown in chapter 3, section 3.3.1). 70 of the children were BBC (35 boys and 35 girls), including: 21 eight year-olds ( $M=8.33$  years,  $SD=5.04$ ), 27 eleven year-olds ( $M=11.19$  years,  $SD=7.42$ ) and 22 fourteen year-olds ( $M=14.04$  years,  $SD=6.15$ ). 91 of the children were white Scottish children (42 boys and 49 girls), including: 25 eight year-olds ( $M=8.62$  years,  $SD=5.55$ ), 38 eleven year-olds ( $M=11.40$  years,  $SD=5.57$ ) and 28 fourteen year-olds ( $M=16.66$  years,  $SD=4.84$ ).

### **5.3.2 Tasks and Procedures**

This study included three small tasks to evaluate children's national and ethnic identity from different perspectives. Children were interviewed (Tasks 1) and then participated in Task 2 and Task 3 card-sorting tasks similar to those used by Reizabal, Valencia and Barrett (2003). This procedure has previously been successfully applied by many studies of self-categorisation, identification and in-group and out-group attitudes (e.g. Clay & Barrett, 2011; Oppenheimer & Midzic, 2011).

The general procedure involved children being interviewed individually in a quiet room, either at school or in the most convenient available venue (See Chapter 3, section 3.6.1 for details). The language used in the interview was English. After establishing rapport with the child, the interviewer explained that she was interested in children's own thoughts and views about themselves. She emphasized that there were no right or wrong answers. The interviewer was alert to children's reading ability and, where necessary, assistance was provided in reading the sorting-cards (the interviewer spoke fluent English and Mandarin Chinese). During the interview, the following tasks were administered in the order as shown below.

### ***Task 1: Self-Categorisations for National Identity***

The children's self-categorisations were measured using three open-ended questions. Each question explicitly asks the child to consider how they would respond in one of three national contexts (Scotland, China and USA):

- The first question is: *"If you were in Scotland and someone asked you 'where are you from?' what would you say?"*
- The second question is: *"If you were in China and someone asked you 'where are you from?' what would you say?"*
- The third question is: *"If you were in USA and someone asked you 'where are you from?' what would you say?"*

BBC and white Scottish children had to answer the questions three times and in relation to each cultural context (i.e. Scotland, China and USA). The answers were recorded verbatim in a separate sheet manually and transcribed for subsequent analysis.

### ***Task 2: Self-Identification of being Chinese and Scottish***

The children's self-identifications were measured using three sets of response cards (see Appendix E). The first set contained four cards with the following text: "very Scottish", "a little bit Scottish", "not at all Scottish", or "don't know". These cards were spread out in front of the child, with the left-right ordering of the first three cards counterbalanced across successive children. The child was then asked: *"Which one of these cards do you think best describes you?"* The child's choice was

recorded in a spread-sheet manually. The child was asked to pick up the card, which was the best to describe himself/ herself.

The second set of four response cards contained the following text: “very Chinese”, “a little bit Chinese”, “not at all Chinese”, “don’t know”. The same procedure was performed as for the Scottish identification cards. The best cards to describe the child were recorded in a spread-sheet manually. The child was asked to select the card, which was the best to describe himself/ herself.

The third set of six response cards contained the following text: “Chinese”, “more Chinese than Scottish”, “Chinese and Scottish”, “more Scottish than Chinese”, “Scottish”, and “don’t know”. The left-right ordering of the first five cards was counterbalanced across the successive children. The answers were recorded in a spread-sheet manually. The child was asked to select the card that they thought could best describe them.

### ***Task 3: Evaluation of, and feeling about, Chinese and Scottish people***

The attitudes of the two groups of participating children towards Chinese people and Scottish people were measured using a trait attribution task (Barrett et al., 1997). The task used a set of 12 sorting-cards, on each of which one of the following traits was written: *clean, dirty, friendly, unfriendly, clever, stupid, hardworking, lazy, happy, sad, honest, and dishonest*. These terms were chosen on the basis of previous studies in which children had been asked to describe spontaneously their national and ethnic groups (Barrett & Short, 2011). The cards were presented in a different randomised order to each child. The child was then introduced to the task and asked:

*Here are some cards with words on them that can be used to describe people. So, we can say that some people are [word written on first card; first card then removed and second one shown to child]. And some people are [word written on second card]. Right? Now, what I want you to do is go through all these words one by one, and I want you to sort out those words, which you think can be used to describe Chinese people. Can you do that for me please? Sort out the words, which you think describe Chinese people.*

After performing the task in relation to Chinese people, the child was then asked to perform it again in relationship to Scottish people. In order to be consistent, all the children were asked to refer to Chinese people first and then Scottish people. The child was told that they were allowed to select any positive or negative adjective card, which he or she believed was applicable to a particular group. The answers of the children were recorded in a spread-sheet manually in the order of their choosing the cards.

After completing the adjective card-sorting task for a particular group, the child was asked about their feeling towards Chinese people and Scottish people separately. The child was asked: *“Now, I just want to ask you one more thing about Chinese people. Do you like or dislike Chinese people?”* If the child said that he/she liked or disliked the group, the interviewer spread out on the table a set of cards containing the words: *“dislike a lot”, “dislike a little”, “don’t know”, “like a little”, “like a lot”*. The child was then asked: *“And how much do you like/dislike them? Choose your answer from these cards”*. The procedure was repeated for Scottish people. When manually recorded, the answers to ‘dislike a lot’ were coded 1, ‘dislike a little’ coded 2, ‘don’t know’ coded 3, ‘like a little’ coded 4, and ‘like a lot’ coded 5. The score was obtained according to the standard measurement from the previous research (Bennett et al., 2004; Bennett, Lyons, Sani, & Barrett, 1998).

## **5.4 Results**

### **5.4.1 Analysis**

Research question 1 focused on how BBC and Scottish children categorize themselves in terms of nationality, and whether there is any development of self-categorisation across age groups? This research question is related to task 1 data. Task 1 was analysed using chi-square to examine the association between children’s responses types and age.

Research question 2 concerned to what degree BBC children identify with their national identity as Scottish versus their ethnic identity as Chinese, and how does the strength of national identification compare with that of white Scottish children? Are



there any differences in ethnic/national identification across age groups? Research question 2 tied with task 2 “self-identification” data was recoded into ordinal data in order to carry inferential statistics. A Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test was used to examine within group, whether BBC children perceive their Chinese identity and Scottish identity differently, and whether white Scottish children identify a Chinese and Scottish identity differently. A Mann Whitney Test was used to compare BBC and white Scottish children’s identification to Chinese identity and Scottish identity separately. Task 2 also examined age development in the extent of children’s identification. Therefore, Chi-square was used to examine the differences across the age in each group.

Research question 3 concerned how positively or negatively BBC and white Scottish children perceive Chinese and Scottish people. Is there any age development of children’s intergroup attitudes? Is there any relation between the strength of liking of each national group and the positive evaluation of the group? Research question 3 is related to task 3. Task 3 the “Adjective Card Sorting Task” was analysed using independent sample t-tests to compare BBC and white Scottish children’s evaluations of positive and negative traits of Chinese and Scottish people. Paired sample t-tests were used to examine differences in positive traits of Chinese and positive traits of Scottish identified by BBC and white Scottish children as well as negative traits of Chinese and negative traits of Scottish identified by BBC and white Scottish children. Two-way ANOVAs were also conducted to examine the effect of age and ethnic groups on positive and negative adjective attributions of Chinese and Scottish. Correlation tests were then carried to examine the relationship between the strength of liking or disliking of a group and the positivity of evaluating the group. In the following section, results of each task will be described in detail.

#### **5.4.2 Task 1: Self-categorisations**

The frequencies of responses of BBC and white Scottish children to the three questions about self-categorization are shown in the following tables (tables 5.1 & 5.2 the Scotland location, tables 5.3 & 5.4 the China location and tables 5.5 & 5.6 the USA location). The frequency count indicates that BBC children were more likely to

respond ‘Scotland’ than ‘China’ in the three different locations: Scotland, China and USA, with approximately 60% choosing the country or home city, around 30% choosing China, and 10% indicating a dual heritage by choosing Scotland for themselves, but incorporating China as their parents’ country of origin. The white Scottish children were more likely to respond ‘Scotland’ in the three locations and they showed stronger local identity (responding Edinburgh/Glasgow) than BBC children when they were in Scotland. However, BBC children’s responses to the question ‘where are you from?’ varied according to the different locations.

In the question 1 “If you were in Scotland and someone asked you ‘where are you from?’ What would you say?” The children’s responses were recoded: answers included Scotland, England, Edinburgh/Glasgow, China/Hong Kong, born in Scotland but parents from China. In the following tables, Table 5.1 shows frequencies of BBC and White Scottish children’s responses in terms of ‘where are they from’ when in Scotland. Table 5.2 shows frequencies of ‘where are they from’ in Scotland broken down by age and ethnic groups.

**Table 5.1 The frequency of different responses to the questions**  
*If you were in Scotland and someone asked you “where are you from?” What would you say?*

	BBC (N=70)	White Scottish (N=91)
<b>Scotland</b>	31 (44.3%)	71 (78%)
<b>England</b>	1 (1.4%)	1 (1.1%)
<b>Edinburgh/Glasgow</b>	9 (12.9%)	18 (19.8%)
<b>China/Hong Kong</b>	22 (31.4%)	1 (1.1%)
<b>Born in Scotland but parents from China</b>	7 (10%)	0
<b>Total</b>	70 (100%)	91 (100%)

Four cells had expected count less than 5, so an exact significance test was selected for Pearson’s chi-square. The analysis revealed significant association between the response types and the two ethnic groups ( $\chi^2 (4,161) = 42.85$ , exact  $p < .001$ ).

**Table 5.2** Frequencies of responses to question “where are you from?” in Scotland, broken down by age and ethnic group

	BBC (N=70)			White Scottish (N=91)		
	8 years	11 years	14 years	8 years	11 years	14 years
<b>Scotland</b>	9 (42.9%)	10 (37.0%)	12 (54.5%)	20 (76.9%)	28 (75.7%)	23 (82.1%)
<b>England</b>	0	0	1 (4.5%)	0	1 (2.7%)	0
<b>Edinburgh/ Glasgow</b>	2 (9.5%)	6 (22.2%)	1 (4.5%)	6 (23.1%)	8 (21.6%)	4 (14.3%)
<b>China/ Hong Kong</b>	8 (38.1%)	8 (29.6%)	6 (27.3%)	0	0	1 (3.6%)
<b>Born in Scotland but parents from China</b>	2 (9.5%)	3 (11.1%)	2 (9.2%)	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	21 (100%)	27 (100%)	22 (100%)	26 (100%)	37 (100%)	28 (100%)

Six cells had expected count less than 5, so an exact significance test was selected for Pearson’s chi-square. The analysis did not reveal any significant association between BBC’s responses types and age ( $\chi^2 (8, 70) = 6.74$ , exact  $p > .05$ ), and between White Scottish children’s responses types and age ( $\chi^2 (6, 91) = 4.43$ , exact  $p > .05$ ).

Question 2 is “If you were in China and someone asked you ‘where are you from?’ What would you say?” The children’s answers were recoded as follows: answers of Scotland, England, United Kingdom, Edinburgh, China/Hong Kong. Table 5.3 shows frequencies of response broken down by ethnic group of participants. Table 5.4 shows frequencies of response broken down by age and ethnic group.

**Table 5.3 The frequency of different responses to the questions**  
*If you were in China and someone asked you “where are you from?” What would you say?*

	BBC (N=70)	White Scottish (N=91)
<b>Scotland</b>	30 (42.9%)	72 (79.1%)
<b>England</b>	1 (1.4%)	1 (1.1%)
<b>United Kingdom</b>	0	6 (6.6%)
<b>Edinburgh</b>	7 (10%)	5 (5.5%)
<b>China/Hong Kong</b>	29 (41.4%)	7 (7.7%)
<b>Born in Scotland but parents from China</b>	2 (2.9%)	0
<b>Do not know</b>	1 (1.4%)	0
<b>Total</b>	70 (100%)	91 (100%)

Eight cells had expected count less than 5, so an exact significance test was selected for Pearson’s chi-square. The analysis revealed significant association between the responses types and the two ethnic groups ( $\chi^2 (6,161) = 37.98$ , exact  $p < .001$ ).

**Table 5.4 Frequencies of responses to question “where are you from?” in China, broken down by age and ethnic group**

	BBC (N=70)			White Scottish (N=91)		
	8 years	11 years	14 years	8 years	11 years	14 years
Scotland	3 (14.3%)	14 (51.9%)	13 (59.2%)	20 (76.9%)	26 (70.3%)	26 (92.8%)
England	0	0	1 (4.5%)	0	1 (2.7%)	0
United Kingdom	0	0	0	0	5 (13.5%)	1 (3.6%)
Edinburgh	4 (19.0%)	3 (11.1%)	0	4 (15.4%)	1 (2.7%)	0
China/Hong Kong	13 (61.9%)	9 (33.3%)	7 (31.8%)	2 (7.7%)	4 (10.8%)	1 (3.6%)
Born in Scotland but parents from China	1 (4.8%)	0	1 (4.5%)	0	0	0
Do not know	0	1 (3.7%)	0	0	0	0
Total	21 (100%)	27 (100%)	22 (100%)	26 (100%)	37 (100%)	28 (100%)

Twelve cells had expected count less than 5, so an exact significance test was selected for Pearson’s chi-square, The analysis of BBC children’s responses in isolation from those of the white Scottish children did not reveal association in their responses types and ages ( $\chi^2 (10,70)=17.89$ , exact  $p>.05$ ). For white Scottish children, no such age-related association was found ( $\chi^2 (8, 91) =15.08$ , exact  $p>.05$ ). The analysis showed that 12 cells had expected count less than 5, so an exact significance test was selected for Pearson’s chi-square.

Question 3 “If you were in the USA and someone asked you ‘where are you from?’ What would you say?” were recoded. Children’s answers including Scotland, England, United Kingdom, Edinburgh, China/Hong Kong, Born in Scotland but

parents from China, do not know, and USA. Table 5.5 shows frequencies of response broken down by ethnic group. Table 5.6 shows frequencies of responses broken down by age and ethnic group

**Table 5.5 The frequency of different responses to the questions**

*If you were in USA and someone asked you “where are you from?” What would you say?*

	BBC (N=70)		Scottish (N=91)	
<b>Scotland</b>	30	(42.9%)	70	(76.9%)
<b>England</b>	1	(1.4%)	3	(3.3%)
<b>United Kingdom</b>	1	(1.4%)	6	(6.6%)
<b>Edinburgh</b>	7	(10%)	6	(6.6%)
<b>China/Hong Kong</b>	15	(21.4%)	1	(1.1%)
<b>Born in Scotland but parents from China</b>	4	(5.7%)	0	
<b>Do not know</b>	2	(2.9%)	0	
<b>USA</b>	10	(14.3%)	5	(5.5%)
<b>Total</b>	70	(100%)	91	(100%)

Four cells had expected count less than 5, so an exact significance test was selected for Pearson’s chi-square. The analysis revealed a significant association between the two ethnic groups and the response types ( $\chi^2 (7,161) = 38.48$ , exact  $p < .001$ ).

**Table 5.6 Frequencies of responses to question “where are you from?” in USA, broken down by age and ethnic group**

	BBC (N=70)			Scottish (N=91)		
	8 years	11 years	14 years	8 years	11 years	14 years
Scotland	5 (23.8%)	14 (51.9%)	11 (50.0%)	18 (69.2%)	28 (75.7%)	24 (85.7%)
England	0	0	1 (4.5%)	1 (3.8%)	2 (5.4%)	0
United Kingdom	0	0	1 (4.5%)	1 (3.8%)	3 (8.1%)	2 (7.1%)
Edinburgh	4 (19.0%)	2 (7.4%)	1 (4.5%)	4 (15.4%)	1 (2.7%)	1 (3.6%)
China	3 (14.3%)	6 (22.2%)	6 (27.4%)	0	0	1 (3.6%)
Born in Scotland but parents from China	1 (4.8%)	1 (3.7%)	2 (9.1%)	0	0	0
Do not Know	1 (4.8%)	1 (3.7%)	0	0	0	0
USA	7 (33.3%)	3 (11.1%)	0	2 (7.8%)	3 (8.1%)	0
Total	21 (100%)	27 (100%)	22 (100%)	26 (100%)	37 (100%)	28 (100%)

Twenty cells had expected count less than 5, so exact significance tests were selected for Pearson’s chi-square. The analysis of BBC children’s responses revealed significant associations between response types and age ( $\chi^2$  (14, 70) =20.62, exact  $p>.05$ ). The analysis of white Scottish children’s responses did not reveal any significant age-related associations ( $\chi^2$  (10, 91) =11.14, exact  $p>.05$ ). Fifteen cells had an expected count of less than 5, so an exact significance test was selected for Pearson’s chi-square.

In summary, the first research question focused on how BBC and white Scottish children categorize themselves in terms of nationality, and whether there is any development of self-categorisation across age groups? The results showed that most of BBC and White Scottish children respond that they come from Scotland when they are asked in three different locations. However, BBC and White Scottish children differ significantly with respect to the way they categorise themselves in society. White Scottish children are consistent in categorising their nationality. Over 75% of White Scottish children respond that they come from Scotland in three different locations. However, there are nearly 50% of BBC children respond Scotland in three locations, 30%, 40% and 20% respond China or Hong Kong when they are asked in Scotland, China and USA respectively.

When children were asked “where are you from” in Scotland, the frequency with which BBC children selected their Chinese identity increased with age, whereas the frequency of selecting their Chinese identity declined with age when children were asked in China. In terms of developmental perspective, at age 8 years, a small number of BBC children said they came from Scotland when they were asked in three locations. In contrast, their self-categorisation increased in the age 11 and age 14 groups and remained consistent in these two age groups. When they were asked about “where are you from” in the USA, the frequencies with which BBC children selected both Chinese and Scottish identities increased with age, whereas the frequencies with which they selected USA identity declined with age. It is worth noting that a small number of BBC children answered that they were from China when the setting of the question was in China and that they were from USA when they were asked in the USA. Those who answered in this way were mainly younger children, age 8. One white Scottish teenage child lived in Hong Kong for many years so thought of herself as Chinese, hence the persistent 3.6% anomaly. These results suggest a developmental trend whereby children build up and consolidate a sense of national identity with increasing age.



### 5.4.3 Task 2: Self-Identification

#### 5.4.3.1 Self-identification across ethnic groups

The next stage of analysis was to test to what extent children's self-identifications are located within a Scottish or Chinese national/ethnic identity. The following tables (Tables 5.7, 5.8 and 5.9) show the frequencies of children's self-identification by ethnic groups.

**Table 5.7 The frequency with which the four possible levels of Scottish identification were chosen, by ethnic group**

	BBC (N=70)		Scottish (N=91)	
Very Scottish	19	(27.1%)	56	(61.5%)
A little bit Scottish	44	(62.9%)	31	(34.1%)
Not at all Scottish	3	(4.3%)	0	
Do not know	4	(5.7%)	4	(4.4%)
Total	70	(100%)	91	(100%)

The analysis showed that 4 cells had expected count less than 5, so an exact significance test was selected for Pearson's chi-square. There was a significant association between identity responses and ethnic groups in terms of Scottish identification ( $\chi^2 (3,161) = 21.13$ , exact  $p < .001$ ).

**Table 5.8 The frequency with which the four possible levels of Chinese identification were chosen, broken down by ethnic group**

	BBC (N=70)		Scottish (N=91)	
Very Chinese	38	(54.3%)	1	(1.1%)
A little bit Chinese	31	(44.3%)	4	(4.4%)
Not at all Chinese	0		74	(81.3%)
Do not know	1	(1.4%)	12	(13.2%)
Total	70	(100%)	91	(100%)

The analysis showed that 4 cells had expected count less than 5, so an exact significance test was selected for Pearson's chi-square. There was significant

association between identity responses and ethnic groups in terms of Chinese identification ( $\chi^2 (3,161) = 138.86$ , exact  $p < .001$ ).

**Table 5.9 The frequency of the six possible levels of Scottish /Chinese/Scottish Chinese identification chosen, broken down by ethnic group**

	BBC (N=70)		Scottish (N=91)	
Chinese	1	(1.4%)	1	(1.1%)
More Chinese than Scottish	18	(25.7%)	1	(1.1%)
Both Chinese and Scottish	39	(55.7%)	0	
More Scottish than Chinese	9	(12.9%)	18	(19.8%)
Scottish	0		69	(75.8%)
Do not know	3	(4.3%)	2	(2.2%)
Total	70	(100%)	100	(100%)

The analysis showed that 4 cells had expected count less than 5, so an exact significance test was selected for Pearson's chi-square. There was a significant association between identity responses and ethnic groups in terms of dual identification ( $\chi^2 (5,161) = 125.81$ , exact  $p < .001$ ).

For the purpose of running inferential statistics, children's response to Scottish identification and Chinese identification has been recoded: "Very Scottish/Chinese" coded 2, "A little bit Scottish/Chinese" coded 1, "Not at all Scottish/Chinese" coded 0, and the option "do not know" has been removed from the analysis.

The Shapiro-Wilk test was carried out to measure the normality of children's response to Scottish identification and Chinese identification. The results show that the null hypothesis of the normal distribution is rejected ( $p < .001$ ). Therefore, non-parametric measures were used in the analysis. A Wilcoxon Signed Ranks test was carried out to test whether there are any differences in BBC children's identification as Chinese and Scottish, and white Scottish children's identification as Chinese and

Scottish. A Mann Whitney test was carried to test whether the two groups of children (BBC and white Scottish children) responded differently in terms of their Chinese identification and Scottish identification.

The Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test showed that BBC children's Chinese identification and Scottish identification did elicit a statistical significance ( $Z=-3.06$ ,  $p<.01$ ). BBC children have stronger Chinese identification ( $M=1.55$ ,  $SD= 0.50$ ) than white Scottish identification ( $M=1.24$ ,  $SD=0.53$ ). There are also significant differences between Chinese identification and Scottish identification among white Scottish children ( $Z=-7.74$ ,  $p<.001$ ). White Scottish children's Scottish identification ( $M=1.64$ ,  $SD=0.48$ ) is stronger than Chinese identification ( $M=0.08$ ,  $SD=0.31$ ). Mann-Whitney  $U$  tests show that there are significant differences between BBC children and white Scottish children in evaluating their Scottish identification ( $Z=-4.50$ ,  $p<.001$ ) and Chinese identification ( $Z=-19.94$ ,  $p<.001$ ).

In summary, Task 2 examined the second research question on BBC and Scottish children's ethnic and national identifications. There is a significant group difference between BBC and white Scottish children with respect to their Chinese identification and Scottish identification. BBC children had stronger Chinese identification than Scottish identification when they referred to either Chinese identity or Scottish identity. However, when the identification referred to Chinese, Scottish or both Chinese and Scottish, more than half of BBC children preferred to identify themselves as both Scottish and Chinese. In contrast, white Scottish children were more consistent in choosing their Scottish identity. It is worth noting that a small number of white Scottish children felt they were a little bit Chinese when only referring to Chinese identification. This happened with younger children, and the children explained that they have friends who are Chinese or they want to go to China so they think they may become Chinese one day.

#### ***5.4.3.2 Task 2: Self-identification across age***

The results in the previous part show that there are significant differences between BBC and white Scottish children in terms of Scottish identity, Chinese identity and

dual identity of Scottish and Chinese. In the next stage of analysis, the association of self-identification types and the age is revealed. The following tables (Tables 5.10, 5.11 & 5.12) show the association of BBC and white Scottish children's self-identification types and age.

**Table 5.10 The frequency of the four possible levels of children's response in terms of Scottish identification, broken down by ethnic groups and age**

	BBC (N=70)			Scottish (N=91)		
Age groups	8 (n=21)	11 (n=27)	14 (n=22)	8 (n=26)	11 (n=37)	14 (n=28)
Very Scottish	8 (38.1%)	7 (25.9%)	4 (18.2%)	18 (69.2%)	23 (62.2%)	15 (53.6%)
A little bit Scottish	12 (57.1%)	15 (55.6%)	17 (77.3%)	7 (26.9%)	12 (32.4%)	12 (42.9%)
Not at all Scottish	1 (4.8%)	2 (7.4%)	0	0	0	0
Do not know	0	3 (11.1%)	1 (4.5%)	1 (3.8%)	2 (5.4%)	1 (3.6%)

The analysis of the three age groups of BBC children and the extent of identifying with their Scottish identity showed that 6 cells had expected count less than 5, so an exact significance test was selected for Pearson's chi-square. There was no significant association between BBC children's response types and age ( $\chi^2$  (6, 70)=6.86, exact  $p>.05$ ). The analysis of the three age groups of white Scottish children and the extent of identifying with their Chinese identity showed that 3 cells had expected count less than 5, so an exact significance test was selected for Pearson's chi-square. There was no significant association between white Scottish children's response types and age ( $\chi^2$  (4, 91)=1.74, exact  $p>.05$ ).

**Table 5.11 The frequency of the four possible levels of children's response in terms of Chinese identification, broken down by ethnic group and age**

	British born Chinese (N=70)			Scottish (N=91)		
Age groups	8 (n=21)	11 (n=27)	14 (n=22)	8 (n=26)	11 (n=37)	14 (n=28)
Very Chinese	11 (52.4%)	15 (55.6%)	12 (54.5%)	0	0	1 (3.6%)
A little bit Chinese	10 (47.6%)	12 (44.4%)	9 (41.0%)	2 (7.7%)	2 (5.4%)	0
Not at all Chinese	0	0	0	22 (84.6%)	30 (81.1%)	22 (78.6%)
Do not know	0	0	1 (4.5%)	2 (7.7%)	5 (13.5%)	5 (17.9%)

The analysis of the three age groups of BBC children and the extent of identifying with their Chinese identity showed that 3 cells had expected count less than 5, so an exact significance test was selected for Pearson's chi-square. There was no significant association between BBC children's response types and age ( $\chi^2$  (4, 70) = 2.31, exact  $p > .05$ ). The analysis of the three age groups of white Scottish children and the extent of identifying with their Chinese identity showed that 9 cells had expected count less than 5, so an exact significance test was selected for Pearson's chi-square. There was no significant association between Scottish children's response types and age ( $\chi^2$  (6, 91) = 5.33, exact  $p > .05$ ).

**Table 5.12 The frequency of the four possible levels of British born Chinese children's British/Chinese /British Chinese identification chosen, broken down by age group**

	BBC (N=70)			Scottish (N=91)		
Age Groups	8 (n=21)	11 (n=27)	14 (n=22)	8 (n=26)	11 (n=37)	14 (n=28)
Chinese	0	1 (3.7%)	0	0	1 (2.7%)	0
More Chinese than Scottish	6 (28.6%)	5 (18.5%)	7 (31.8%)	0	0	1 (3.6%)
Both Chinese and Scottish	10 (47.6%)	17 (63%)	12 (54.5%)	0	0	0
More Scottish than Chinese	4 (19.0%)	3 (11.1%)	2 (9.1%)	10 (38.5%)	4 (10.8%)	4 (14.3%)
Scottish	0	0	0	15 (57.7%)	31 (83.8%)	23 (82.1%)
Do not know	1 (4.8%)	1 (3.7%)	1 (4.5%)	1 (3.8%)	1 (2.7%)	0

The analysis of the three age groups of BBC children and the extent of identifying with their Chinese and Scottish identity showed that 9 cells had expected count less than 5, so an exact significance test was selected for Pearson's chi-square. There was no significant association between BBC children's response types and age ( $\chi^2$  (8, 70)=4.00, exact  $p>.05$ ). The analysis of the three age groups of white Scottish children and the extent of identifying with their Chinese and Scottish identity showed that 9 cells had expected count less than 5, so an exact significance test was selected for Pearson's chi-square. There was significance between white Scottish children's response types and age ( $\chi^2$  (8, 91)=12.79, exact  $p<.001$ ). White Scottish children show the peak of in-group identification is stronger after 11 years old age.

In summary, the second research question focused on whether there are any differences of ethnic/national identification among BBC and white Scottish children across age? The results show there is no obvious age effect in self-identification to each ethnic group except for white Scottish children, who show age differences in

Scottish/ Chinese/dual Chinese and Scottish identifications. As age increases, fewer white Scottish children identify themselves as more Scottish than Chinese, but an increasing number of white Scottish children identify themselves as only Scottish. BBC children's self-identification responses were fairly consistent across the age group. A higher percentage said they are a little bit Scottish and very Chinese, however, when they had options of dual identities, they chose to identify themselves as both Chinese and Scottish.

#### **5.4.4 Task 3: Adjective Cards Sorting Test**

##### ***5.4.4.1 Group differences of positive and negative adjectives attributed to Chinese and Scottish***

In order to examine the group and age differences in the numbers of positive and negative traits attributed to Chinese and Scottish people, additional t-tests and ANOVAs were conducted on the adjectives children chose. Tables 5.13, 5.14 and Figure 5.1 show the mean number of positive traits and negative traits identified by the two groups (BBC and white Scottish children) as characteristics of Chinese and Scottish people. Independent sample t-test analyses revealed that there were significant differences in the mean numbers of positive traits towards Chinese and positive traits towards Scottish between BBC and white Scottish children. However, there were no significant differences in attribution of negative traits towards Chinese and Scottish people between BBC and white Scottish children.

**Table 5.13 Mean number, standard deviations, and minimum and maximum numbers used in describing traits of targets nationalities by BBC children (n=70)**

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Minimum	Maximum
Positive Traits of Chinese	4.39	1.25	2	6
Negative Traits of Chinese	.46	1.00	0	6
Positive Traits of Scottish	3.37	1.73	0	6
Negative Traits of Scottish	1.73	1.79	0	6

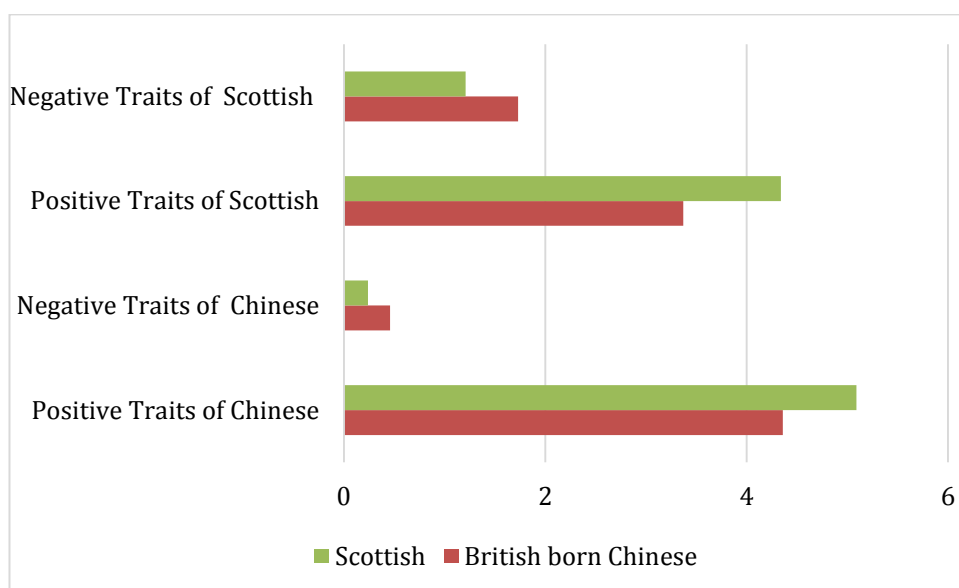
Note: The possible maximum score is 6, and the minimum score is 0.

**Table 5.14 Mean number, standard deviations, and minimum and maximum numbers used in describing traits of targets nationalities by white Scottish children (n=91)**

	M	SD	Minimum	Maximum
Positive Traits of Chinese	5.09	1.00	2	6
Negative Traits of Chinese	.24	.79	0	4
Positive Traits of Scottish	4.34	1.49	0	6
Negative Traits of Scottish	1.21	1.51	0	6

Note: The possible maximum score is 6, and the minimum score is 0.

**Figure 5.1 Mean score of positive traits and negative traits towards Chinese and Scottish broken down by ethnic groups**



An independent sample t-test was carried out to analyse whether there were significant differences in the number of positive traits and negative traits attributed by BBC and white Scottish children towards Chinese and Scottish people. The results show BBC and white Scottish children differed significantly on the mean number of positive traits of Chinese people ( $t(130) = -3.83, p < .001$ ). There are no significant differences in the mean number of negative traits of Chinese people between the two groups ( $t(130) = 1.48, p > .05$ ). There are significant differences in the mean number of positive traits of Scottish people between the two groups ( $t(159) = -3.81, p < .001$ ). There are no significant differences in the mean number of negative traits of Scottish people between the two groups of children ( $t(134) = 1.95, p > .05$ ).



Paired sample t-tests were then carried to analyse whether there were significant differences in the mean number of positive traits of Chinese/Scottish people and the mean number of negative traits of Chinese/Scottish people reported by BBC and Scottish children. The results show that there were significant differences in the number of positive traits of Chinese and positive traits of Scottish reported by BBC children ( $t(69)=5.00, p<.001$ ). BBC children attributed more positive traits to Chinese ( $M=4.39, SD=1.25$ ) than to Scottish ( $M=3.37, SD=1.73$ ). There were significant differences in the number of positive traits of Chinese and positive traits of Scottish reported by white Scottish children ( $t(90)=5.17, p<.001$ ). White Scottish children attributed more positive traits to Chinese ( $M=5.09, SD=1.01$ ) than to Scottish people ( $M=4.34, SD=1.49$ ). There were significant differences in the number of negative traits of Chinese and negative traits of Scottish among BBC children ( $t(69)=-6.45, p<.001$ ). BBC children attributed more negative traits to Scottish ( $M=1.73, SD=1.79$ ) than to Chinese people ( $M=0.46, SD=1.00$ ). There were significant differences in the number of negative traits of Chinese and negative traits of Scottish reported by white Scottish children ( $t(90)=5.17, p<.001$ ). White Scottish children attributed more negative traits to Scottish people ( $M=1.21, SD=1.51$ ) than to Chinese people ( $M=0.24, SD=0.79$ ).

#### ***5.4.4.2 Age differences of positive and negative adjectives attributed to Chinese and Scottish people***

Two-way ANOVAs were conducted to examine the effect of age and ethnic groups on the attribution of positive and negative adjectives of Chinese and Scottish people. In regards to the attribution of positive traits to Chinese people, there was homogeneity of variance between groups as assessed by Levene's test for equality of error variances ( $p>.05$ ). There was a significant difference between the two groups in attributing positive traits to Chinese ( $F(1,155)=14.63, p<.001$ , partial  $\eta^2=.09$ ). White Scottish children (Mean=5.07) attributed more positive traits to Chinese people than BBC children did (Mean=4.38). There were no significant age differences in attributing positive traits to Chinese people ( $F(2,155)=.72, p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.009$ ). There was no significant interaction between age and participant

group (BBC versus white Scottish children) on attribution of positive traits to Chinese ( $F(2,155) = .22, p > .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .003$ ).

In terms of scores of negative traits to Chinese, the homogeneity of variance between groups as assessed by Levene's test for equality of error variances was violated ( $p < .05$ ). There were no significant differences between the two ethnic groups in attributing negative traits to Chinese people ( $F(1,155) = 2.31, p > .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .015$ ). There were no significant age differences in attributing negative traits to Chinese people ( $F(2,155) = 0.60, p > .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .008$ ). There was no significant interaction between age and participant group (BBC versus white Scottish children) on attributing negative traits to Chinese people ( $F(2, 155) = 2.17, p > .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .027$ ).

In terms of scores of attributing positive traits to Scottish, the homogeneity of variance between groups as assessed by Levene's test for equality of error variances was violated ( $p < .05$ ). There were significant differences between the two groups (BBC versus white Scottish children) in attributing positive traits to Scottish people ( $F(1,155) = 14.14, p < .001$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .084$ ). White Scottish children (Mean=4.29) attributed more positive traits to Scottish people than BBC children did (Mean=3.35). There were no significant age differences in attributing positive traits to Scottish people ( $F(2,155) = 2.26, p > .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .028$ ). There was a significant interaction between age and participant group (BBC versus white Scottish children) on attributing positive traits to Scottish people ( $F(2,155) = 4.15, p < .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .051$ ). Least Significant Difference (LSD) post hoc tests show the significant differences existed between two groups (BBC versus white Scottish children) in the 8-year-old and 11-year-old age groups. Among the 8-year-olds, white Scottish children attributed more positive traits to Scottish than Chinese people (Mean=4.54 for Scottish and Mean=3.00 for Chinese). Among 11-year-olds, white Scottish children attributed more positive traits to Scottish than Chinese people (Scottish Mean=4.84, BBC Mean=3.48). However, in the 14-year-old age group, there were no significant differences in trait attribution between the BBC and white Scottish children.

In regards to negative traits to Scottish, the homogeneity of variance between groups as assessed by Levene's test for equality of error variances was violated ( $p<.05$ ). There were no significant differences between BBC and white Scottish children in attributing either positive traits or negative traits to Scottish people. There were no significant differences between the two groups in attributing negative traits to Scottish ( $F(1, 155)=3.00, p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.019$ ). There were no significant age differences in attributing negative traits to Scottish ( $F(2,155)=0.53, p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.007$ ) and no significant interaction between age and participant group in attributing negative traits to Scottish people ( $F(2,155)=2.30, p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.029$ ).

#### ***5.4.4.3 Strength of affection towards the Chinese and Scottish people***

The second part of the “Adjective Card Sorting” task is to ask children’s responses to the questions concerning whether they liked or disliked Chinese and Scottish people and how much. Table 5.15 and 5.16 showed BBC and white Scottish children’s evaluations of the extent of like or dislike of Chinese and Scottish people separately. Figure 5.2 showed mean scores of BBC and Scottish children’s extent of like or dislike of the Chinese and Scottish.

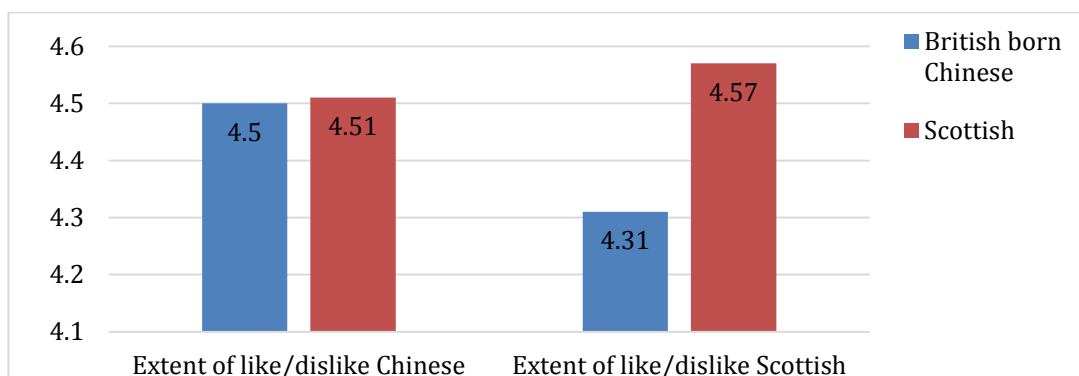
**Table 5.15 The frequency of extent of like or dislike of Chinese, by ethnic group**

Like/Dislike Chinese	BBC	White Scottish
Dislike a lot	0	0
Dislike a little	1 (1.4%)	0
Do not know	10 (14.3%)	15 (16.5%)
Like a little	12 (17.1%)	15 (16.5%)
Like a lot	47 (67.1%)	61 (67%)

**Table 5.16 The frequency of extent of like or dislike of Scottish, by ethnic group**

Like/Dislike Scottish	BBC	White Scottish
Dislike a lot	0	1 (1.1%)
Dislike a little	2 (2.9%)	1 (1.1%)
Do not know	8 (11.4%)	8 (8.8%)
Like a little	26 (37.1%)	16 (17.6%)
Like a lot	34 (48.6%)	65 (71.4%)

**Figure 5.2 The mean of the extent of like/dislike of Chinese and Scottish, broken down by ethnic group**



A t-test was conducted to examine the differences in feelings of positivity or negativity towards Chinese and British people between the BBC and white Scottish children. The analysis showed that there is no significant difference between BBC and white Scottish children in the extent of their like or dislike for Chinese people ( $t(159)=-.04$ ,  $p>.05$ ) (BBC:  $M=4.50$ ,  $SD=0.79$ , Scottish:  $M=4.51$ ,  $SD=0.77$ ). However, there are significant differences between BBC and white Scottish children in the evaluation of the extent of like or dislike towards the Scottish people ( $t(159)=-2.05$ ,  $p<.05$ ). White Scottish children ( $M=4.57$ ,  $SD=0.79$ ) have more affection towards Scottish people than do BBC children ( $M=4.31$ ,  $SD=0.79$ ).

Analysis also examined the specific development prediction of the scores of overall like/dislike of Chinese and Scottish among BBC and white Scottish children between the ages of 8, 11 and 14 years. Two two-way ANOVAs were conducted to examine group (BBC versus white Scottish children) and age differences in positive attitudes

towards Chinese people and Scottish people separately. In terms of positive attitudes towards Chinese people, the result shows there is no significant effect of overall like/dislike of Chinese people in BBC and white Scottish children across the ages. The details are shown below: no significant effect of age on the extent of like/dislike Chinese people ( $F(2,155) = .35, p > .05, \eta^2 = .004$ ). There was no significant effect of participant group (BBC versus white Scottish) on the extent of like/dislike of Chinese people ( $F(1,155) = .00, p > .05, \eta^2 = .000$ ). There was no significant interaction between the participant group and age ( $F(2,155) = .591, p > .05, \eta^2 = .008$ ). In terms of affection towards Scottish people, the result shows there was no significant effect of overall like/dislike of Scottish people in BBC and white Scottish children across the ages. The details are shown below: there was no significant effect of age on the extent of like/dislike Scottish people ( $F(2,155) = .33, p > .05, \eta^2 = .004$ ). There was no significant effect of participant group (BBC versus white Scottish) on the extent of like/dislike of Scottish people ( $F(1,155) = 3.24, p > .05, \eta^2 = .02$ ). There was no significant interaction between the participant group and age ( $F(2,155) = 2.47, p > .05, \eta^2 = .031$ ).

#### ***5.4.4.4 Correlation between strength of like/dislike Chinese and Scottish people as well as affective distinctiveness of Chinese and Scottish people***

Task 3 measures the strength of like/dislike of Chinese and Scottish children (see section 1.4.3.3). It also measures the positive/negative traits that BBC and white Scottish children attributed to Chinese and Scottish people (see section 1.4.3.1). According to the suggestion of Barrett and Oppenheimer (2011) in the analysis of the adjective card-sorting task, scores which they termed affective distinctiveness were obtained by subtracting the number of the negative traits from the number of the positive traits in order to assess the relationship between the strength of in-group identification and the degree of liking the in-group. Therefore, the correlation tests between overall positivity score and strength of national identification were analysed for BBC and white Scottish children.

The results show that there was a significant positive correlation between the affective distinctiveness score of Chinese people and the extent of like/dislike of

Chinese among BBC children ( $r=.301$ ,  $N=70$ ,  $p<.05$ , two tailed) and white Scottish children ( $r=.236$ ,  $N=91$ ,  $p<.05$ , two tailed). There was a significant positive correlation between the overall affective distinctiveness score for Scottish people and the extent of like/dislike of Scottish people among BBC children ( $r=.353$ ,  $N=70$ ,  $p<.01$ , two tailed) and white Scottish children ( $r=.285$ ,  $N=91$ ,  $p<.01$ , two tailed).

To summarize the findings of Task 3: Firstly, there was a significant group difference in attributing positive traits to Chinese and Scottish people. White Scottish children attributed more positive traits to Chinese and to Scottish people than BBC children did. Secondly, Age trends were different for BBC and white Scottish children in attributing positive traits to Scottish people. In the 8 and 11 year age groups, white Scottish children attributed significantly more positive traits towards Scottish people (in-group) than BBC children did. Thirdly, in the strength of like/dislike towards Chinese and Scottish people, white Scottish children liked Scottish people more than BBC children did, but there was no significant difference in the strength of liking for Chinese people between BBC and white Scottish children. Fourthly, there was a positive correlation between the affective distinctiveness score of Chinese and Scottish people and the extent of like/dislike of Chinese and Scottish people among BBC children and white Scottish children

## **5.5 Discussion**

This study included three tasks to examine BBC and white Scottish children's national categorization, ethnic identification and intergroup attitudes towards Chinese and Scottish people. There were three main research questions regarding three tasks in study 2. Research question 1 and task 1 addressed BBC and white Scottish children's categorization of themselves in terms of nationality and explored developmental changes of self-categorisation among BBC and white Scottish children. Research question 2 and task 2 focused on the extent to which BBC children identify with their national identity as Scottish versus their ethnic identity as Chinese, and how the strength of national identification compares with that of Scottish children. They addressed the question whether there are any differences in ethnic/national identification across age groups. Research question 3 and task 3

focused on the positivity or negativity of BBC and white Scottish children's attributions of traits to Chinese and Scottish people. The developmental changes revealed related to children's intergroup attitudes. The question arose whether there is a relation between the strength of affinity with each national group and the positivity of evaluating the group. The findings will be discussed in relation to each of the research questions and tasks in turn.

### **5.5.1 The variability of self-categorisation between BBC and white Scottish children**

Research Question 1 concerned how BBC and Scottish children categorize themselves in terms of nationality, and considered any developmental changes in self-categorisation across the age groups. Task 1 compared BBC and Scottish children's self-categorisation across the three locations (China, Scotland and USA), and it can be seen that there are significant differences between BBC and white Scottish children in regarding their identification with their national identities. White Scottish children show themselves to be very certain about their Scottish identity in self-categorisation tasks, whereas BBC children categorise themselves as slightly more Scottish than Chinese across the three locations (China, Scotland and USA). This is in line with Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind and Vedder's (2001) argument that dual cultural children are facing an extra task to negotiate their identity in different social, and particularly national, contexts. The results of task 1 give an indication of the challenges that BBC children face in categorising their identity. In comparison with white Scottish children, BBC children have a distinctive physical appearance, with a dual cultural heritage, living in Scotland, which is dominated by a white population. Therefore, while they are developing their national identity, BBC children are facing the challenge of categorising themselves in the different national contexts.

The findings of task 1 also showed the developmental changes in children's response to the question "where are you from?" in different locations. When they were asked *"If you were in Scotland and someone asked you 'where are you from?', what would you say?"* BBC children indicated their Chinese identity increasingly with age and

mentioning of Chinese identity was significantly more in older age groups. It is worth noting that BBC children's self-categorisation as Scottish when they were asked in China increases dramatically from age 8 to age 11 years, and remains consistent between the ages of 11 and 14. When they were asked "*If you were in USA and someone asked you 'where are you from?', what would you say?*" BBC children often referred to their dual Chinese and Scottish identity, with the older children tending to refer to it more frequently than younger participants of the study. However, these older children were less likely to refer to an US-American identity than the younger children. In all three age groups, a greater percentage of BBC children referred to Scottish identity than to Chinese identity. In contrast, white Scottish children consistently referred to their Scottish identity across the national contexts and across the age groups. This pattern of results reveals the development of BBC children's national identity. It is in line with Barrett's study (2002) that suggests that children develop a systematic idea of their national identity from the age of five to six years. With increasing age, children have a more concrete idea of the nation, and are able to make a distinction between ethnic identity and national identity. Although Barrett's (2002) research of national identity only examined British children's sense of Britishness, Study 2 of this thesis extended its results to suggest that the development of national identity also applied to children in ethnic minority groups in the UK.

In addition, it is worth noting that a small number of white Scottish children said that they would answer they are from China if they were asked "where are you from" in China. A small number of BBC children and white Scottish children answered that they would say 'they are from USA' when they were asked the question in the USA. However, these responses were only likely to occur among the youngest children, aged 8. The explanation is that older children are more likely to refer to their national identity in response to the question "where are you from?", while children in the youngest age group are still somewhat confused about national identity (Bourchier et al., 2002). An alternative explanation is that younger children were not attuned to the tacit implication in the task, so they did not fully understand the question. Younger children may have thought that the question referred to their current location and



may not have interpreted it as a question regarding their national identity. This is in line with Barrett (1996) who observed that there may be some confusion about geography among younger children.

### **5.5.2 The differences of self-identification between BBC and white Scottish children**

Research question 2 of this chapter aimed to explore to what degree BBC and white Scottish children identify with their ethnic and national groups, and whether there are any differences of ethnic/national identification across age groups. These questions were explored using task 2. The findings show that BBC children identify themselves as Chinese more than Scottish regarding the question of how Chinese and how Scottish they feel. However, they are more likely to identify themselves as having a dual identity of both Chinese and Scottish when they have this option, rather than simply choosing either a Chinese identity or Scottish identity. This is in line with the review in Chapter 2 (section 2.3.4) indicating that BBC youth created a new ethnic identity which embraces both Chinese and Scottish identity. In contrast, white Scottish children are more certain about their simpler single Scottish identity. There are no significant age differences among the children in the degree to which they identify themselves as British and Chinese. This result indicates that, although BBC children and white Scottish children are raised in the same national environment, the extent of their identification as Chinese and Scottish are very different. BBC children highly value their Chinese identities, probably influenced by their parents and the culture of the Chinese community in which they live. As reviewed in Chapter 1 (section 1.4) and Chapter 2 (sections 2.3.5), the parents' acculturation attitudes influence children's formation of their ethnic identity and national identity. The parents' cultural practice at home that encourage children to feel proud of their ethnic and heritage culture will significantly influence children's formation of ethnic identity and national identity (Hughes et al., 2006). This finding is also in line with the result of SSCMT that the roles of social context are important to the development of ethnic identity (Barrett, 2007) and national attitudes among children (Reizabal, Valencia & Barrett, 2003).

### **5.5.3 The preferences of Chinese and Scottish people between BBC and white Scottish children**

Research question 3 of this chapter was to evaluate the intergroup attitudes towards Scottish and Chinese by BBC and white Scottish children. The result of task 3 shows that white Scottish children attribute more positive traits to both Chinese and Scottish people than BBC children do. Both BBC and white Scottish children attribute more positive traits to Chinese people than to Scottish people. This is only partially in line with the CDT (Aboud, 1988, 2008) and SIDT (2004, 2008) which predict that children are in favour of in-groups rather than out-groups. BBC children followed this pattern, but White Scottish children did not. The finding of the in-group favouritism is not consistent with previous studies (Bennett et al., 1998, Bennett et al., 2004). The study conducted by Bennett et al. (1998) asked 459 British children, aged 6 to 15, to evaluate positive traits and negative traits of their own group and four other out-group nationalities (including Italian, German, Spanish, and French), found that children significantly preferred their own national group to the other national groups. However, their results show that there are no differences regarding the negative traits attributed to the different national groups. This is in line with what Nesdale (2004) suggested, that national in-group favouritism is not necessarily related to out-group dislike. Similar results were also evidenced in a study that investigated intergroup attitudes with 594 children six-year-olds from five countries (Azerbaijan, Russia, Georgia, Ukraine and Britain) (Bennett, et al., 2004). The differences of findings in this study could be explained in the following ways. One possible reason is that white Scottish children may not see Chinese people as an out-group, perhaps because some of their classmates are Chinese and they are familiar with Chinese people. The other possible reason is that the experimenter was Chinese and that might potentially have led White Scottish children to attribute more positive adjective cards to Chinese people so as not to offend her. The results of task 3 thus contribute to the literature on intergroup attitudes and show that it is applicable to ethnic minority children identifying their ethnic and national identity, but may not generalize to ethnic majority children if they are not threatened by out-group.

In terms of developmental trends in research question 3, the results of task 3 show that there is a relation between ethnic group (BBC versus white Scottish) and age regarding the evaluation of positive trait of Scottish people. White Scottish children at age 8 and 11 attributed more positive traits to Scottish people than BBC children did. However, there were no age-related changes regarding the attribution of positive and negative traits to Chinese people, nor were there age-related changes in the attribution of negative traits to Scottish people. These results differ from those of Rutland (1999) who suggested that in-group favouritism was evident in children after 10 years of age, and out-group derogation was found from 12 years of age. However, Rutland's study (1999) used a photographic evaluation task to ask children (aged 6 to 16) to indicate their liking or disliking of specific people. The weakness of Rutland's study (1999) is that he asked children to make judgements of individuals rather than of global social categories (Bennett et al., 2004).

Previous research using similar methods to the "adjective card sorting" in task 3 in this study has found different results. A study conducted by Aboud and Amato (2001) showed that children's attributions of positive adjectives to members of their own ethnic group peak at the age of 5 or 6, and that there is a steady decline between the age of 6 and the age of 12. At age 12, children attributed a combination of positive and negative features to the in-group and the out-groups. However, the age-related change in attributing positive traits and negative traits to the in-group and out-group between age 8 and age 11 did not occur in Study 2. The reason for this difference may be that previous studies were mainly based on white majority group children and there is limited research with children from an ethnic minority background. Another study investigated the development of national identification and attitudes of 246 children (aged 6, 9, 12 and 15) who belonged to three linguistic groups living in the Basque country (only speaking Basque at home, only speaking Spanish at home and speaking both languages at home). They failed to find any age-related changes in the evaluation of the national in-group and out-groups (Reizabal et al., 2004). The study of national identification and attitudes of children living in the Basque country raised a doubt on the developmental theory which generates the children's development of intergroup attitudes irrespective of the specific national context of

the children. Study 2 did not find developmental changes of BBC and white Scottish children's evaluation to Chinese people, and it therefore raised the question of whether the developmental theory of children's intergroup attitudes would apply to different ethnic groups of children.

Task 3 also found that there is a positive correlation between the strength of Chinese identification and the degree of affective distinctiveness attributed to Chinese among ethnic minority group children (BBC children) and ethnic majority group children (white Scottish children). It is in line with the SIT prediction presented in section 5.2. SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) predicts a relationship between the strength of in-group identification and the degree of liking the in-groups. There is also a significant positive correlation between the strength of Scottish identification and the degree of affective distinctiveness attributed to Scottish among BBC children and Scottish children. The correlations were modest (ranging from 0.24 to 0.35) and similar to the finding from examining national identification and attitudes of children living in Basque countries (Reizabal et al., 2003).

#### **5.5.4 Conclusions**

Overall, the findings of this study indicate that BBC and white Scottish children are different in terms of their self-categorisation and national identification although they both live in the same national context. BBC children identify themselves as being more Chinese than Scottish. They also attribute more positive traits to Chinese than to Scottish people. By contrast, white Scottish children consistently identify themselves as Scottish in all three national contexts and attribute more positive traits to Scottish people than to Chinese people. This chapter makes two important contributions to the current literature. Firstly, as discussed in section 5.5.2, the study shows that with increasing age, children develop a more concrete idea of their national identity, Scottish. This is in line with existing evidence of the development of children's knowledge of national identity (Barrett, Lyons, & del Valle, 2004). Secondly, BBC children attribute more positive traits to their cultural groups than to national out-groups. This fits with CDT's (Aboud, 1988, 2008) contention that

children attribute more positive traits to in-groups than to out-groups in the years of middle childhood and early adolescence (see Chapter 1, section 1.3.1).

Study 2 raised an important question that BBC children face a challenge in categorising their identification in different national contexts (detail see section 1.5.2). When they encountered the question regarding their national identity, most children referred to a British identity. However, when they were asked about to what degree they identified themselves as Chinese or Scottish, they referred to Chinese identity or a dual identity as both Chinese and Scottish. When BBC children were asked to evaluate the intergroup attitudes of Chinese and Scottish people, they tended to be in favour of Chinese people rather than of Scottish people. When faced with different questions about the ethnic/national identity, BBC children showed a contextual understanding and flexibility in categorising their identity. In regard of these findings, the next study, Study 3, will explore how BBC children perceive their national and ethnic identity in various explicit social and cultural contexts. The white Scottish children were also invited to participate in the study in order to explore how the ethnic majority group of children view the identities of their minority peers in different cultural and social situations.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **STUDY 3: CONTEXTUAL FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE BBC AND WHITE SCOTTISH CHILDREN'S DEVELOPING UNDERSTANDING OF BBC CHILDREN'S SENSE OF ETHNIC IDENTITY**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

The findings reported in Chapter 5 provide important information regarding developmental changes of national identification, identity categorisations and evaluations of Chinese and Scottish national groups by BBC and white Scottish children. The results indicated that BBC children combine dual identities of being Chinese and Scottish according to different social contexts. In contrast, white Scottish children have a comparatively stable, across age, and singular sense of Scottish identity. It indicated that dual heritage children's sense of identity is context based. As reviewed in Chapter 1 (section 1.4), SSCMT suggested that different social context factors influence children's intergroup attitudes (Barrett, 2007). Those factors included parents, schools, peers and mass media's discourse and practise. Socialization theory further emphasizes that parents play an important role in influencing children's ethnic identity formation (Hughes et al., 2006). Therefore, the current chapter focuses on whether social context influences children's identity formation from two perspectives. Firstly, Study 3 examines a number of aspects of socio-cultural identity where national environment or country of residence is controlled, but cultural factors are systematically varied within the methods of the study. Secondly, a potentially important influence on children's social identity is considered in Study 3: the role of parents' cultural orientation attitudes. This study examines parents' cultural orientation attitudes within the home environment, and also considers how parents' cultural orientation might influence children's ethnic and national identity.

##### **6.1.1 Social context influences on ethnic identity**

From a theoretical point of view, defining oneself as part of an ethnic category is not only an act of imitation but also a process of adapting to others' beliefs, values and

standards (Kinket & Verkuyten, 1997). It is widely acknowledged that social context plays a central role in how ethnic identity develops, particularly in relation to ethnic identification (Kinket & Verkuyten, 1997; Verkuyten, 2004). SSCMT framework illustrated in Chapter 1 (Figure 1.1) showed a clear picture of the social environmental contexts that influence children's intergroup attitudes (Barrett, 2007). Some empirical studies have provided evidence that social context and families influence second generation adolescents' formation of ethnic identity and national identity. A study was conducted with 365 second generation adolescents (mean age =15.5 years) from five ethnic groups (Algerians, Antilleans, Moroccans, Portuguese and Vietnamese) in France (Sabatier, 2008). The study also interviewed parents (including 356 mothers and 292 fathers). The social context and its influences were analysed from the following perspectives: socialization with peers, discrimination, relationship between parents and adolescents, parents' ethnic and national enculturation practice, and parental style. There were three main results revealed in the study. Firstly, ethnic and national identities were two independent orientations. Secondly, parents positively contributed to their children's acculturation identity formation, including ethnic identity and national identity. However, parents' contribution was different between mothers and fathers. Thirdly, the school and peer context were considered a less influential factor in children's formation of social identity.

Phinney et al (1997) suggested that the existing developmental models of social identity are insufficient for understanding identity development among ethnic minority populations. For example, the study of McGuire and McGuire (1988) found that when the black children in a particular school grade were less than 10 % of the grade population, only 5% mentioned their ethnic identity. However, when the number of black children was more than 10%, 26% of black children mentioned their ethnic identity. The study indicated that children's exposure to environments in which they could be aware of their ethnic identity is dependent on their awareness of formed more of an alternative to the white children. The study implicated that ethnic minority groups of children's ethnic identity were dependent on the social context. Another study comprised of a survey with 669 American born adolescents (mean

age=16.1 years, including 232 African American, 372 Latinos, and 65 white American to examine the influence of ethnic identity and self-esteem among ethnic majority and ethnic minority adolescents in the USA (Phinney et al., 1997). Questionnaires were used to assess adolescents' ethnic identification, ethnic identity, American identity, and self-esteem. Participants were also asked to provide demographic information. Multiple regression analysis showed that ethnic identity is a strong predictor of self-esteem. Both ethnic identity and American identity were related to global self-esteem among white adolescents. For the non-white adolescents, American identity was not significantly related to their global self-esteem. In addition, the other variances that also influenced self-esteem, include academic achievement and gender. Phinney et al. (1997) further suggested that family relationship may be an important contributor to self-esteem. The study concluded that ethnic identity is an important factor to self-esteem; however, there are other factors that influence children's development of self-esteem. Phinney et al.'s (1997) research only related to adolescents and did not have a developmental element. This study examines the ethnic identity and other factors in influence self-esteem. In addition, the research used questionnaires to examine children's ethnic identity and intergroup attitudes which might not suit the children. Study 3 aims to investigate BBC children and white Scottish children's judgments of ethnic identity in social context by taking a developmental approach.

There are limited methodologies to measure children's preference of ethnic identity in different social contexts. One of the few methodologies used to measure children's group preferences is the doll preference technique (Clark & Clark, 1939) which has been widely used to examine children's group preference. In this technique, children are asked to choose a preferred doll, puppets, drawings or photographs, which is "most like you". The purpose of asking children to respond to a stimulus of the same ethnic group is in order to indicate appropriate identification with the ethnic group. The other measurement is to present children with photographs from different ethnic groups and asks children to choose the one closest to the description (Williams, Best, & Boswell, 1975). However, these methods do not allow the independent assessment of comparison between in-group and out-group, as well as the extent of favouring of



the in-group (Nesdale, 1999 b). These techniques are also not able to examine other factors that influence or affect the group preference. In view of these considerations, Nesdale (1999 b) introduced an experiment to examine developmental changes in children's ethnic preferences (for more information, see section 6.5.2). Although Nesdale's (1999 b) study made great contribution to developmental perspectives of children's ethnic attitudes, no studies to date have involved any measure specifically developed to assess a particular ethnic minority group of children's preference for ethnic identity or national identity in different social contexts.

### **6.1.2 Parents' influence on children's identity**

As reviewed in Chapter 1 (section 1.4.1), SSCMT emphasized that parents' discourse and practise play important roles in the development of children's intergroup attitudes (Barrett, 2007). Socialization theory suggested that in immigrant families, parents' cultural orientation attitudes will affect how they interact with their children and it will influence the adaption of their children (Hughes et al., 2006) (see Chapter 1, section 1.4.2). While adapting to different strategies of acculturation and the different levels of identity (Berry & Sabatier, 2011), parents transmit values of cultural competences and identity to their children (Costigan & Dokis, 2006). As a consequence, parents' socialization (such as transmitting language, the cultural values and the customs from the country of origin) contributes to the children's perception of ethnic identity and national identity (Sabatier, 2008). The relationship between parents' cultural orientation and children's identity has been evidenced by the study conducted with 365 second generation adolescents from five ethnic groups (Algerians, Antilleans, Moroccans, Portuguese and Vietnamese) in France (Sabatier, 2008) (see section 6.1.1).

By contrast, Phinney and Chavira's (1995) study found no significant relationship between parents' cultural socialisation and adolescents' ethnic identity. The study carried out an interview with Mexican-American, Japanese-American and African-American adolescents and their parents. However, this study was criticised for using a dichotomous response to assess parent's socialisation as it did not provide a response range to show the relationship (Bankston & Zhou, 1995). Another study

surveyed 81 Armenian families, 47 Vietnamese families, and 88 Mexican families (Phinney et al., 2001). The study aimed to examine whether there was any relationship between ethnic language proficiency, cultural maintenance by parents, in-group peer interaction and adolescents' ethnic identity. The result showed that ethnic language proficiency and in-group peer reaction predicted ethnic identity, and parents' cultural maintenance predicted adolescents' proficiency in ethnic language. This study also suggested that parents have an important impact on children's ethnic identity. Nevertheless, Phinney et al (2001) proposed that the relationship between parents and children's ethnic identity needs to be understood by the characteristics of each individual group.

## **6.2 The present study**

The present study applied the vignettes technique to measure whether children's national identity, ethnic identity or their feeling of positivity shifts with social context. Both BBC children and white Scottish children participated in the study. For BBC children (an ethnic minority group of children in white Scottish mainstream society), the identity vignettes are primarily measuring their level of identification with national identity (Scottish), ethnic identity (Chinese) and feeling of positivity about each identity in different social contexts that emphasise one or other national-ethnic group. For white Scottish children (an ethnic majority group of children), the identity vignettes form a measure of their perceptions of these aspects of social identity in their ethnic minority BBC peers. The participating white Scottish children were from the same school as BBC children. Therefore they would be able to give an evaluation of BBC as a social group. Phinney et al. (2001) proposed that ethnic and national identities should be understood in terms of both the attitudes and characteristics of the immigrants, and also the response of those members of the receiving country. This means that children's perception about themselves not only depends on how they view themselves but also depends on how other people perceive them. Hence, it is very important to evaluate BBC minority children's identity and feelings of positivity from both the BBC children's perspectives but also from the perspective of white Scottish children as they share the school context. Furthermore, the result of study 2 showed that children adapt their social context

when the cultural context is varied. Therefore, the current study is designed to measure BBC children's sensitivity and adaptively to very specific cultural context from the perspectives of themselves and white Scottish children.

Considering the importance of parents' cultural socialization of their children, the present study also examines the importance of parents' cultural orientation by using the modified General Ethnicity Questionnaire (GEQ) (Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2000). Specifically, correlations between parents' cultural orientation and children's strength of ethnic identity are explored. In contrast to other cultural orientation measurements, the GEQ is important in two ways. Firstly, it was created to test both "unidimensional" and "bidimensional" models of acculturation (see Chapter 2, section 2.3.5). Hence, two versions of the same instrument are created, each of which is a matched assessment of a different oriented culture (Chinese and American culture) (Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2000, 2001).

In sum, the present study was designed to investigate whether BBC children's sense of national/ethnic identity shifts with socio-cultural context. The participation of the white Scottish children gives a measures of their perceptions of the social identity of another ethnic group. Parents' perception of cultural orientation attitudes was taken into account to help us understand their children's ethnic or national identification. Therefore, study 3 has five research questions.

1. Does varying the cultural context between Chinese and Scottish vignettes have an effect on BBC and white Scottish children's perceptions of how Chinese or Scottish the vignette character feels?

Prediction 1: As social context plays an important role in influencing children's ethnic and national identity, it is predicted that BBC and white Scottish children's perception of how Chinese or Scottish the vignette character feels would match with the cultural context in vignettes. BBC and white Scottish children would judge Chinese identity higher in Chinese vignettes and Scottish identity higher in Scottish vignettes.

2. Are there age-related changes in BBC children and white Scottish children's judgements of vignette characters' identity?

Prediction 2: As outlined in Chapter 1 (section 1.2.4), CDT (Aboud, 1988, 2008) and SIDT (Nesdale, 1999 a, 2004) suggest that children's intergroup attitudes change with age. Therefore, it is predicted that there will be age-related changes in BBC children and white Scottish children's judgements of the vignette characters' identity. With age increase, vignettes characters are predicted to mention more Chinese identity in Chinese vignettes and more Scottish identity in Scottish vignettes.

3. Are feelings of positivity among BBC and white Scottish children different in Chinese versus Scottish vignettes? Are there age-related changes in vignette characters' feeling of positivity?

Prediction 3: As SIT suggested a relationship between in-group and out-group (Chapter 1, section 1.2.1), it is predicted that BBC and white Scottish children would evaluate the vignettes characters' feeling of positivity lower in Chinese vignettes and higher in Scottish vignettes. BBC and white Scottish children's judgment of vignette characters' feeling of positivity will develop across the ages. With age increase, both BBC and white Scottish children will judge vignettes characters' feeling of positivity increase in Chinese vignettes and decrease in Scottish vignettes.

4. Is there a correlation between children's identity perceptions and feelings of positivity in Chinese versus Scottish vignettes?

Prediction 4: According to the theoretical basis for the relationship between social identity and self-esteem from SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, also see review in Chapter 1, section 1.2.4), it is predicted that there will be positive correlations between BBC and white Scottish children's judgment of vignette characters' identity and feeling of the characters' positivity.

5. Is there an association between parents' cultural orientation attitudes and their BBC children's identities?

Prediction 5: As parents' have positive influence on children's ethnic identity formation (Hughes, et al., 2006, see also Chapter 1, section 1.4.2), it is predicted that if parents prefer Scottish cultural orientation to their children, their children will have a stronger sense of Scottish identity in Scottish vignettes. Similarly, if parents place more emphasis on Chinese cultural orientation, their children will feel more Chinese in Chinese vignettes.

## **6.3 Methods**

### **6.3.1 Participants**

The participants in this study were 161 children aged 8, 11 and 14 years old living in Scotland, 70 of whom were BBC children (21 aged 8 years; 27 aged 11 years; and 22 aged 14 years) with equal numbers of boys and girls, and 91 of whom were white Scottish children (25 aged 8 years; 38 aged 11 years; and 28 aged 14 years), 49 girls and 42 boys. Among the 70 BBC children whose parents were invited to participate in study 3, 46 of them (66%) agreed to participate (for details see Chapter 3, section 3.3.2). Parents' demographic background information is shown in Table 6.1. It is worth noting that only 40 out of 46 parents completed demographic background information.

**Table 6.1 Percentages for demographic measures of BBC families (n=40)**

Interview Questions	Grouped Answers	Number	Percentage
1. Length of migration	1970-1979	15	37.5%
	1980-1989	12	30%
	1990-1999	9	22.5%
	2000-2009	4	10%
2. Main reason for coming Scotland	Families	21	52.5%
	Study	9	22.5%
	Job	10	25%
3. Number of generations living in the UK	1 <sup>st</sup> generation	26	65%
	2 <sup>nd</sup> generation	14	35%
4. Occupation (husband)	Catering	28	70%
	Professional	5	12.5%
	Others	7	17.5%
Occupation (wife)	Housewife	32	80%
	Others	8	20%
5. Language usage at work	Chinese	21	52.5%
	English	9	22.5%
	Both Chinese and English	10	25%
6. Number of children	One child	1	2.5%
	Two children	22	55%
	Three children	11	27.5%
	Four children	6	15%

Most participating BBC families have been settled in the UK for more than 20 years. Most of the families work in the catering industry, such as Chinese restaurants. Majority of the Chinese mothers are housewives with more than two children.

### 6.3.2 Measurements

#### *Children's Identity Vignettes*

For the children, a novel set of identity vignettes has been created for this study to test children's attitudes towards their national identification, ethnic identification and feeling of positivity in a number of specific hypothetical situations. These materials

were also used to explore how white Scottish children view BBC children's identity and feeling of positivity in the same situations.

Vignettes have long been used in the social sciences as a research approach to seek and understand people's attitudes, perception and beliefs (Hughes & Huby, 2004). Vignettes techniques were chosen for this particular study for four reasons. Firstly, vignettes consist of text and images that are accessible to children and can stimulate children's responses. Secondly, vignettes create scenarios that might help to simulate elements from reality (Hughes & Huby, 2002, 2004). Thirdly, from a practical perspective, vignettes can quickly generate a considerable amount of data from a large participant group when they are used to answer quantitatively focused research questions (Gould, 2007; Sumrall & West, 1998). Fourthly, vignettes applied as a useful way to tackle the limitations of questionnaires in studies of attitude, perception and beliefs, such as to minimize the ambiguity in meaning of the questions (Hughes & Huby, 2002). Applying vignettes in study 3 is highly appropriate because it is hard to measure children's ethnic identity in social contexts but vignettes can manipulate social context systematically.

Prior research with adults using open-ended interviews indicated that individuals' understanding of ethnic identity includes: physical appearance, cultural experiences (language, holiday, and heritage), group pride and an awareness of group differences (Azmitia, Syed, & Radmacher, 2008; Syed & Azmitia, 2008). Among them, language and cultural tradition were particularly prevalent among minority Chinese people. Therefore, Study 3 vignettes were created to reflect five different social situations commonly encountered by BBC children. Each of the five settings focused on one of the following: language usages at home, food eaten at home, national festivals, parents' language usage in the presence of school peers, and social activities. Although vignettes cannot exactly mirror reality, the social settings selected for use in the vignettes are those that the BBC children might easily encounter in their daily lives. Therefore this approach could provide a tailored and specific approach to explore children's perceptions of how strongly Chinese or Scottish story characters feel in different cultural situations. For BBC children,

vignettes might evoke their perceptions of the vignette characters' feelings, and mirror their own feelings. For Scottish children, vignettes might evoke their perceptions of the vignette characters' feelings, based on their understanding of their ethnic minority Chinese peers.

Ten vignettes were created in total to assess children's perceptions towards national identity, ethnic identity and feelings of positivity towards particular ethnicities (for a complete set of vignettes, see Appendix F1). The vignettes were set within five specific social contexts outlined above. The vignettes were designed so that they all started with the same sentence introducing a BBC character, with names and genders varied systematically across the ten vignettes. The second sentence then described the specific social context. Each vignette included a picture of a group of children in the social setting relevant to the associated vignette. The third person singular was used in all ten vignettes and all the names in vignettes were Chinese names in order to make the stories more authentic. For example:

*Chen Yin was born in Scotland but her parents come from China. Chen Yin was invited by her Chinese friends to go to Chinese New Year party together.*

Five vignettes refer to Chinese social settings (item 1, item 2, item 6, item 8 and item 10) and five refer to Scottish social settings (item 3, item 4, item 5, item 7 and item 9). Each Chinese vignette was paired with a corresponding Scottish vignette to contrast the two social contexts. Ten vignettes were randomly assembled and they comprised an equal number of male and female characters. Table 6.2 shows the different cultural aspects of the identity vignettes.



**Table 6.2 The cultural aspects of vignettes in two different social contexts.**

Chinese vignettes		Scottish vignettes
Vignette 1: Chinese New Year	v.s.	Vignette 7 Christmas Party
Vignette 2: Chinese dumplings	v.s.	Vignette 5 Fish and Chips
Vignette 10: Half children in swimming pool are Chinese	v.s.	Vignette 3 The only Chinese child in a dance class
Vignette 8: Father speaks Chinese in front of classmates	v.s.	Vignette 4 Mother speaks English in front of classmates
Vignette 6: Parents asked the child to speak Chinese at home	v.s.	Vignette 9 Parents asked the child to speak English at home

In an individual interview setting, children were read each vignette and then asked three questions. The first question assessed the strength of national identity of the character in the vignette, as perceived by the child participants, “How Chinese would XX feel?” A series of fixed response options were offered to each child: “very much Chinese”, “quite Chinese” and “not at all Chinese.” The second question assessed the extent of Scottish identity “How Scottish will XX feel?” Response options offered to each child were: “very much Scottish”, “quite Scottish” and “not at all Scottish.” The final question assessed children’s feeling of positivity as a proxy for self-esteem: “How would she/he feel about herself/himself at that time?” Response options were: “feel good”, “okay” or “not good.” Children made responses to the cards verbally. The vignettes and pictures of vignettes can be found in Appendix F.

Responses were coded into rank order numeric scales: “very Chinese/very Scottish” was coded 2, “quite Chinese/quite Scottish” was coded 1, “not at all Chinese/not at all Scottish” was coded 0. For extent of feelings, “good” was coded 2, “okay” was coded 1, and “not good” was coded 0.

### ***Modified General Ethnicity Questionnaire (GEQ)***

General Ethnicity Questionnaire (GEQ) (Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2000) was used in the present study because it has been used in a number of studies (most often with Chinese Americans) to describe the cultural orientation of study samples. It also used to measure the relationship between cultural orientation and various outcome measures (e.g. emotional reactivity, self-esteem) (Tsai et al., 2000; Tsai et al., 2001).

GEQ measurement consists of two versions: American and Chinese. Each version of the scale comprised the same 37 items. Participants use a response scale ranging from 1 “strongly disagree” to 5 “strongly agree” to rate how much they agree with the statement about their cultural orientation. For example, “How much do you speak English at home?” and “How much do you speak Chinese at home?” For items that inquire about participants’ language proficiency, the scale range reversed, from 1= “very much” to 5= “not at all”. Secondly, Tsai et al. (2000) created separate factor analyses with varimax rotation identification that identified six factors for GEQ Chinese version (language, social affiliation, activities, pride, exposure and food) and GEQ American version (language, social affiliation, activities, pride, media and food) (Tsai et al., 2000). In order to create identical domain scales across two instruments, exposure and media were dropped. In addition, internal reliability was tested in each subscale of both instruments, and the alpha reliability in each subscale below .60 was dropped. As a result, only the language, social affiliation and the cultural pride subscales were maintained. Internal reliabilities for both scales were high ( $\alpha=.92$  for the GEQ Chinese version and  $\alpha=.92$  for the GEQ American version).

In the current study, GEQ (Tsai et al., 2000) was modified to assess parents’ cultural orientation concerning their children’s experience of Chinese or Scottish culture. The scale was also edited to reword the item from “I was raised in a way that was Chinese” to “I am raising my child/children in a way of Chinese.” For the language proficiency items, the item “how much do you speak Chinese at home” was modified to “how much do your child/children speak Chinese at home.” In evaluating the appropriateness of the questions, 30 out of 37 items were selected and reworded. The Cronbach’s alpha test of the modified questionnaire shows that internal reliability is high ( $\alpha=.86$  for GEQ Chinese version and  $\alpha=.88$  for the GEQ Scottish version).

In order to check whether the six factors found in Tsai et al.’s (2000) study, research applied in this Scottish sample use separate factor analyses with varimax rotation with fixed 6 factors was analysed. Across the two instruments (Chinese version and Scottish version of the questionnaire), three factors are conceptually similar:

language use and proficiency, social affiliation and exposure. The table 6.3 presents the items comprising these subscales.

**Table 6.3 GEQC and GEQS items used to measure domain-specific cultural orientation.**

<b>Domain: Language use and proficiency</b>
22. How much do your children speak Chinese/English at School?
23. How much do your children speak Chinese/English with friends?
24. How much do your children view, read, or listen to Chinese/English on TV?
25. How much do your children view, read, or listen to Chinese/English in film?
26. How much do your children view, read, or listen to Chinese/English in literature?
27. How fluently do your children speak Chinese/English?
28. How fluently do your children read Chinese/English?
29. How fluently do your children write Chinese/English?
<b>Domain: Social Affiliation</b>
9. I take my children to go to places where people are Chinese, Scottish Chinese/ Scottish.
10. I want my children are to be familiar with Chinese/Scottish cultural practises and customs.
11. I would prefer my family to live in a Chinese, Chinese Scottish/ Scottish community.
<b>Domain: Exposure</b>
2. When my children are growing up, I expose him/her to Chinese/Scottish culture.
3. Now, he/she is exposed to Chinese/Scottish culture.

In addition, the internal reliability of the three subscales was tested for the modified GEQ Chinese and GEQ Scottish versions using Cronbach's Alpha tests. (see Table 6.4).

**Table 6.4 Internal reliability of cultural domain scales in GEQ Chinese and GEQ Scottish.**

	<b>Cronbach's alpha</b>
<b>Language use and proficiency in Chinese</b>	.88
<b>Language use and proficiency in Scottish</b>	.99
<b>Social affiliation in Chinese</b>	.70
<b>Social affiliation in Scottish</b>	.68
<b>Exposure to Chinese</b>	.72
<b>Exposure to Scottish</b>	.71

### 6.3.3 Procedure

For BBC children (n=23) and white Scottish children (n=91) who were recruited to the study through the mainstream schools, the interview was carried out individually in the school settings. For those BBC children who were recruited through Chinese communities (n=47), the interview was carried out in a quiet place that was convenient to the family. The task included ten pictures/ storylines, and participants were asked to answer three questions under each picture/story line. Participants were told that for the next 10 minutes they would complete a task consisting of different scenarios. They were then provided with the following instructions:

*“Now, I am going to give you ten pictures. Please look at each picture and listen to the storyline I told you, and imagine the person in the social interaction that is pictured and described. Then answer the questions that follow the storyline. Can you do that for me?”*

The researcher also emphasized that: *“There is no right or wrong answer, and you just need to tell me what you think the person in the picture would think”*. After rapport was built with the child, the researcher showed them the first picture, read the corresponding storyline, and then asked them the questions. Children were instructed to respond to each question using sign language: Thumb up (for “very much” and “good”); thumb straight (for “quite” and “OK”) or thumb down (for “not at all” and “not good”) (Smith & Williams, 2004). The children’s answers were coded in a separate sheet. If the children did not understand the question, or forgot the content of the vignettes, the vignette was repeated. However, most of the children managed to understand it the first time.

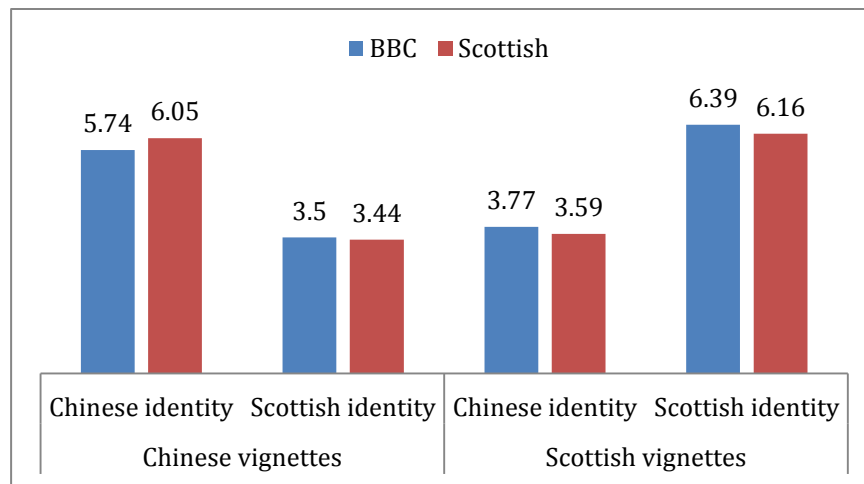
Conducting the modified GEQ questionnaire with parents depended on the availability of the parents. There were 46 BBC children’s parents who agreed to participate in the study. The researcher met 28 parents in person and they completed the questionnaire under the researcher’s supervision in quiet places which were convenient to parents. In addition, 18 parents completed the questionnaire in their own time at home and returned it to the researcher either by post, through the school, or in person.

## 6.4 Results

### 6.4.1 Mean score of each variable of children's identity vignette

In order to compare BBC and white Scottish children's perceptions of social identity and feelings of positivity in two social settings, the separate total scores for Chinese vignettes, Scottish vignettes and feelings of positivity were summed across the BBC and white Scottish participants for the Chinese and Scottish vignettes. Therefore, 3 total scores were derived for Chinese vignettes for each participant (both BBC and white Scottish children): the total score for Chinese identity in the Chinese vignettes; the total score for Scottish identity in the Chinese vignettes; and the total score for feelings of positivity in the Chinese vignettes. In the similar vein, another 3 total scores were calculated for each participating child by creating corresponding total scores from the five Scottish vignettes (see Figure 6.1). The advantage of calculating total scores for Chinese and Scottish vignettes separately is that it permits subsequent inferential statistics to compare the perceptions of identity and feelings of positivity between ethnic groups across the age groups and in contrasted cultural vignettes.

Figure 6.1 Mean score of the characters' perceived identity in two types of vignettes.



### 6.4.2 Differences of mean scores of Chinese and Scottish identity in two types of vignette

After combining the scores in each variable (the character's Chinese identity, Scottish identity, and feeling of positivity in Chinese and Scottish vignettes), the

Shapiro-Wilk test was carried out to measure the normality of those variables. The results show that the null hypothesis of the normal distribution is rejected ( $p<.05$ ). Log transforming and square root transforming were not successful in adjusting the data to become normally distributed; therefore, non-parametric measures are used in further analysis.

Initially, Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Tests were conducted to measure whether BBC or white Scottish children's evaluation of the character's Chinese identity and Scottish identity differed between the two vignette types. BBC children's evaluations of the character's Chinese identity or Scottish identity are measured first. A Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test revealed a statistically significant difference in Chinese and Scottish identity judgements in the Chinese vignettes among BBC children ( $Z=-5.28$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). In the Chinese vignettes, the BBC children's judgments of the character's Chinese identity ( $M=5.74$ ,  $SD=1.76$ ) were stronger than those of the Scottish identity ( $M=3.50$ ,  $SD=1.95$ ). A Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test showed a statistically significant difference in perception of Chinese and Scottish identity in Scottish vignettes ( $Z=-5.46$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). In Scottish vignettes, the character's Scottish identity ( $M=6.39$ ,  $SD=1.81$ ) was perceived to be stronger than the Chinese identity ( $M=3.77$ ,  $SD=2.33$ ).

The same method is applied to analyse the data for the participating white Scottish children. A Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test showed a significant difference in identity judgements depending on vignette types ( $Z=-6.92$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). In response to Chinese vignettes, white Scottish children judged the characters' Chinese identity ( $M=6.05$ ,  $SD=1.57$ ) to be stronger than Scottish identity ( $M=3.44$ ,  $SD=1.39$ ). In the Scottish vignettes, there was a significant difference between the characters' Chinese and Scottish identification ( $Z=-6.67$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). By contrast, the characters' Scottish identification ( $M=6.16$ ,  $SD=1.60$ ) was stronger than Chinese identification ( $M=3.59$ ,  $SD=1.78$ ) in the Scottish vignette. Therefore, both BBC and white Scottish children evaluated the character's Chinese identity as stronger than Scottish identity in Chinese vignettes, and they evaluated Scottish identity as stronger than Chinese identity in Scottish vignettes.

The next step of the analysis focused on the differences of the characters' Chinese identification in both Chinese and Scottish vignettes, and whether their Scottish identifications were different in Chinese and Scottish vignettes. A Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test for BBC children showed significant differences in perceptions of the characters' Chinese identity in Chinese and Scottish vignettes ( $Z=-5.08, p<.001$ ). BBC children's judgments of the characters' Chinese identity were stronger in Chinese vignettes ( $M=5.74, SD=1.76$ ) than in Scottish vignettes ( $M=3.77, SD=2.33$ ). Among white Scottish children analysis also revealed significant differences of perceptions of Chinese identity across both vignette types (Chinese and Scottish) ( $Z=-7.13, p<.001$ ). White Scottish children's judgments of the characters' Chinese identity are also stronger in Chinese vignettes ( $M=6.05, SD=1.57$ ) than in Scottish vignettes ( $M=3.59, SD=1.78$ ). There were significant differences between Scottish identity scored by BBC children in both vignette types ( $Z=-6.54, p<.001$ ). BBC children's judgments of the characters' Scottish identity were stronger in Scottish vignettes ( $M=6.39, SD=1.81$ ) than in Chinese vignettes ( $M=3.50, SD=1.95$ ). Among white Scottish participants' responses there were significant differences in Scottish identity across both vignette types ( $Z=-7.33, p<.001$ ). White Scottish children's judgments of the characters' Scottish identity were stronger in Scottish vignettes ( $M=6.16, SD=1.60$ ) than in Chinese vignettes ( $M=3.44, SD=1.39$ ). Therefore, both BBC children and white Scottish children judged the characters' Chinese identity and Scottish identity as varying across Chinese and Scottish vignettes.

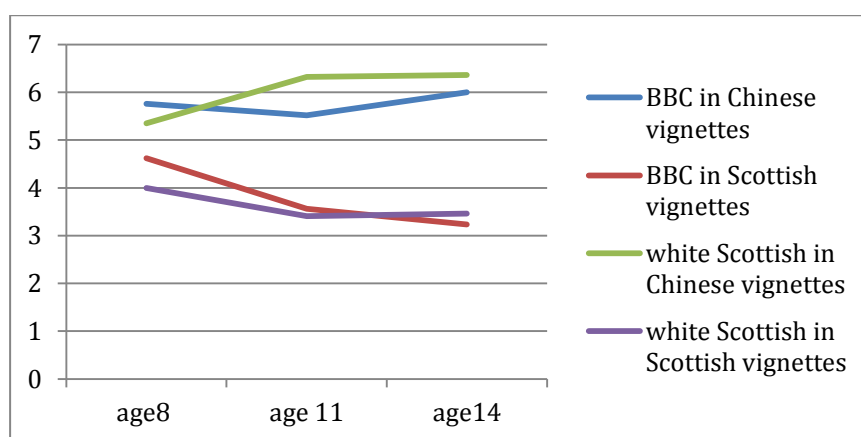
Subsequently, Mann-Whitney  $U$  tests were conducted to evaluate differences between BBC versus white Scottish children's judgements of identity in the Chinese versus Scottish vignettes. The results showed no statistically significant differences between BBC and white Scottish children's judgements of the character's identity in Chinese and Scottish vignettes. Chinese identity in Chinese vignette ( $Z=-1.17, p>.05$ ); Scottish identity in Chinese vignette ( $Z=-0.06, p>.05$ ); Chinese identity in Scottish vignette ( $Z=-0.06, p>.05$ ); Scottish identity in Scottish vignette ( $Z=-1.29, p>.05$ ). Therefore, there were no significant differences between BBC and white Scottish

children in judgements of the characters' feeling of being Chinese and feeling of being Scottish in Chinese and Scottish vignettes.

### 6.4.3 Age changes in judgements of identity

To explore whether the judgements of the characters' Chinese identity in the vignettes the Chinese and Scottish vignettes changed with age, Wilcoxon signed ranks tests were conducted. The results are shown in the figures and tables below (Figures 6.2, 6.3, & 6.4 and Tables 6.5 & 6.6).

**Figure 6.2 Mean score of the characters' Chinese identity in the two types of vignettes for each age group.**





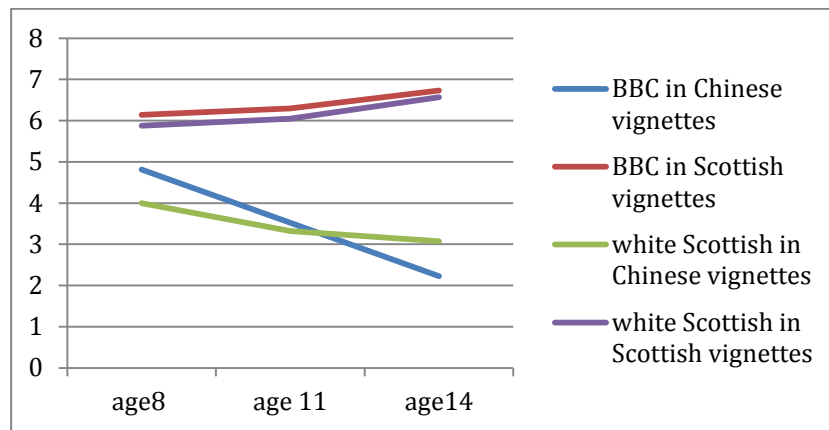
**Table 6.5 Social context differences of Chinese identity, broken down by ethnic group and age.**

Age	Participant Group	Vignette Types	Mean (SD)	Sig.
<b>Age 8</b>	BBC	Chinese	5.76 (1.67)	(z=-1.60, $p>.05$ )
		Scottish	4.62 (3.03)	
	Scottish	Chinese	5.35 (1.77)	(z=-2.69, $p<.01$ )
		Scottish	4.00 (1.98)	
<b>Age 11</b>	BBC	Chinese	5.52 (1.85)	(z=-3.03, $p<.01$ )
		Scottish	3.56 (2.26)	
	Scottish	Chinese	6.32 (1.29)	(z=-4.85, $p=.001$ )
		Scottish	3.41 (1.76)	
<b>Age 14</b>	BBC	Chinese	6.00 (1.77)	(z=-3.97, $p=.001$ )
		Scottish	3.23 (1.31)	
	Scottish	Chinese	6.36 (1.55)	(z=-4.44, $p=.001$ )
		Scottish	3.46 (1.60)	

The results reveal significant differences of Chinese identity between the Chinese and Scottish vignettes in the 8-year-old group of white Scottish children. There were no significant differences in the rest of the age groups. The results also revealed that older children in both groups have a stronger sense of Chinese identity in Chinese social contexts and a weaker sense of Chinese identity in Scottish social contexts.

Wilcoxon signed ranks tests were then conducted to test whether the perceptions of characters' Scottish identity in the Chinese and Scottish vignettes changed with age.

**Figure 6.3 Mean score of the characters' Scottish identity in the two types of vignettes for the different age groups.**



**Table 6.6 Vignette differences of Scottish identity scores, broken by ethnic group and age.**

Age	Participant Group	Vignette Types	Mean (SD)	Sig.
Age 8	BBC	Chinese	4.81 (1.66)	$(z=-2.53, p<.05)$
		Scottish	6.14 (1.96)	
	Scottish	Chinese	4.00 (1.47)	$(z=-3.15, p<.01)$
		Scottish	5.88 (1.61)	
Age 11	BBC	Chinese	3.52 (1.93)	$(z=-4.03, p=.00)$
		Scottish	6.30 (2.10)	
	Scottish	Chinese	3.32 (1.36)	$(z=-4.67, p=.00)$
		Scottish	6.05 (1.67)	
Age 14	BBC	Chinese	2.23 (1.38)	$(z=-4.12, p=.00)$
		Scottish	6.73 (1.24)	
	Scottish	Chinese	3.07 (1.25)	$(z=-4.48, p=.00)$
		Scottish	6.57 (1.48)	

The analysis revealed significant differences for both BBC and white Scottish children in all age groups in perceptions of the characters' Scottish identity between the two types of vignettes. In all age groups, both BBC and white Scottish children scored Scottish identity higher in Scottish vignettes than in Chinese vignettes. BBC and white Scottish children's judgements of Scottish identity in Chinese vignettes significantly decreased with age. Furthermore, judgements of Scottish identity in Scottish vignettes increased with age.

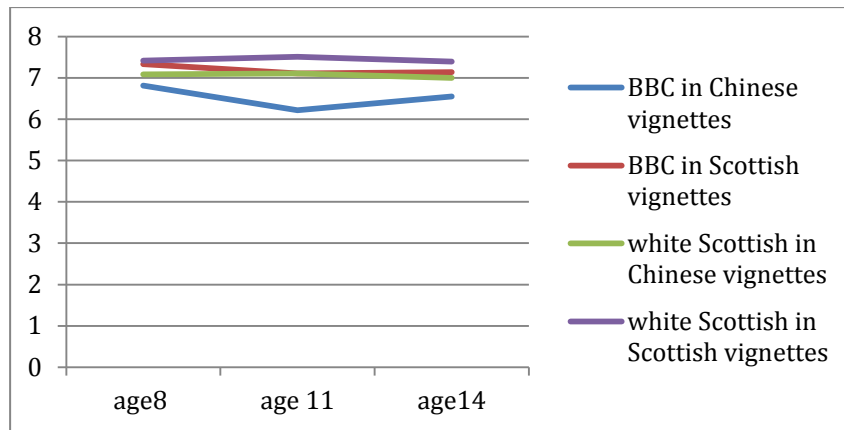
#### **6.4.4 Characters' feelings of positivity in the two vignette types**

In this section, the analysis of feelings of positivity in response to the question “how does the character feel in the picture?” was conducted. Firstly, A Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test was conducted to evaluate whether perceptions of a character’s feeling of positivity are different in Chinese and Scottish vignettes. The results for BBC children showed there were significant differences in feelings of positivity in the Chinese and Scottish vignettes ( $Z=-2.83, p<.01$ ). The BBC participants’ judgements of the characters’ feelings of positivity ( $M=7.19, SD=1.64$ ) were higher in Scottish vignettes than in the Chinese vignettes ( $M=6.50, SD=1.99$ ). A Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test was carried out for the Scottish children; there were significant differences between white Scottish children’s judgements of the character’s feelings of positivity in Chinese and Scottish vignettes ( $Z=-2.24, p<.05$ ). The white Scottish children judged the character’s feelings of positivity to be greater in the Scottish vignettes ( $M=7.45, SD= 1.81$ ) than in the Chinese vignettes ( $M=7.07, SD= 1.69$ ). Therefore, BBC children and white Scottish children perceived the vignette character is feeling more positive in Scottish vignettes.

Secondly, Mann-Whitney *U* tests were carried out to test differences between BBC and white Scottish children in evaluating the feelings of positivity in Chinese and in Scottish vignettes. The results revealed no significant differences in judgements of vignette characters’ feelings of positivity between BBC children and white Scottish children’s perspectives in Chinese vignettes ( $Z=-1.92, p>.05$ ) or in Scottish vignettes ( $Z=-1.12, p>.05$ ). Thus, there were no significant differences between BBC and white Scottish children in judgements of the characters’ feelings of positivity. Both groups of children judged the identity characters have a positive feeling in both Chinese and Scottish vignettes.

Lastly, Wilcoxon signed ranks tests were carried to test BBC and white Scottish children’s judgements about the character’s feelings in Chinese and Scottish vignettes across the age groups. Figure 6.4 and table 6.7 show BBC and white Scottish children’s judgements of characters’ feelings of positivity in Chinese and Scottish vignettes in each age group.

**Figure 6.4 Age change in mean score of characters' feelings of positivity in two social contexts.**



**Table 6.7 Mean and significant differences of feelings of positivity scores between social contexts, broken down by participant group and age.**

Age	Participant Group	Vignettes Types	Mean (SD)	Sig.
Age 8	BBC	Chinese	6.81 (1.63)	(Z=-1.60, $p>.05$ )
		Scottish	7.33 (1.62)	
	Scottish children	Chinese	7.08 (1.50)	(Z=-1.09, $p>.05$ )
		Scottish	7.42 (1.65)	
Age 11	BBC	Chinese	6.22 (2.24)	(Z=-2.07, $p<.05$ )
		Scottish	7.11 (1.70)	
	Scottish children	Chinese	7.11 (1.08)	(Z=-1.65, $p>.05$ )
		Scottish	7.51 (1.68)	
Age 14	BBC	Chinese	6.55 (2.02)	(Z=-1.18, $p>.05$ )
		Scottish	7.14 (1.64)	
	Scottish children	Chinese	7.00 (1.93)	(Z=-1.08, $p>.05$ )
		Scottish	7.39 (2.15)	

Overall, the results showed the high similarity in the mean scores across the different age groups. Only 11 years old BBC children thought the vignette character might feel more positive in the Scottish vignette.

#### 6.4.5 Correlations between perceptions of identity and feelings of positivity

Spearman's  $r$  correlations were carried out to analyse the relationship between perception of the character's Chinese identity judged by BBC and white Scottish children and perceptions of feelings of positivity in Chinese and Scottish social contexts. The results are shown in Table 6.8.

**Table 6.8 Correlation between identity and feelings (I&F) of positivity in two social contexts, broken down by ethnic group**

	Chinese Vignettes		Scottish Vignettes	
	Chinese	Scottish	Chinese	Scottish
BBC children	.202	-.056	.271*	-.193
White Scottish children	.218*	.176	.052	.148

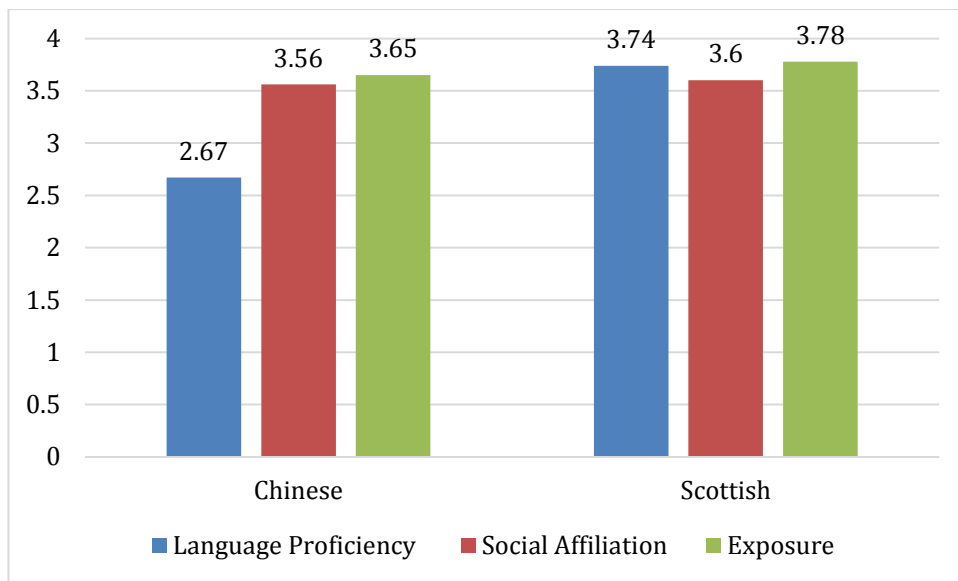
\*  $p < .05$ , two tailed

There was a significant positive correlation between the white Scottish children's judgements of vignette characters' Chinese identity and their judgments of the vignette characters' feelings of positivity in Chinese vignettes. There was a significant positive correlation between BBC children's judgements of the characters' Chinese identity and their judgements of the vignette characters' feelings of positivity in Scottish vignettes.

#### 6.4.6 Mean of subscales of cultural orientation questionnaire

In this section, parents' cultural orientation as another factor that might influence BBC children's perception of ethnic identity is analysed. Paired sample t-test was used to analyse the differences between Chinese and Scottish culture orientation in each subscale of the GEQ.

**Figure 6.5 Mean of Chinese and Scottish cultural orientation subscales.**



The results showed a significant difference of children's language proficiency in Chinese and English ( $t=-3.28$ ,  $df=46$ ,  $p<.01$ ). The effect size was large ( $d=0.91$ ). There were not significant differences in children's social affiliation to Chinese and Scottish ( $t=-3.20$ ,  $df=46$ ,  $p>.05$ ). There was no significant difference of children's exposure to Chinese and Scottish culture ( $t=1.14$ ,  $df=46$ ,  $p>.05$ ). Therefore, parents considered that BBC children speak English better than Chinese. However, there was no significant difference between parents' perceptions of social affiliation to Chinese and Scottish people and exposure to Chinese or Scottish culture among BBC children.

#### **6.4.7 Associations between parents' cultural orientation and children's perceptions of identity**

Paired sample data from 46 parents and their children were selected for analysis. The parents' cultural orientation factors: language proficiency, social affiliation and exposure were recoded as 1=low and 2=high, based on the mean score of each factor in each cultural orientation (see section 6.5.1). In a similar vein, the mean score of 46 BBC children's judgements of Chinese identity in Chinese vignettes ( $M=5.77$ ,  $SD=1.63$ ) and judgements of Scottish identity in Scottish vignettes ( $M=6.43$ ,  $SD=1.54$ ) were calculated. BBC children's judgments of characters' feeling of Chinese identity in Chinese vignettes and feeling of Scottish identity in Scottish

vignettes were recoded as 1=low and 2=high. Chi-square was used to explore, firstly, whether there was an association between parents' Chinese cultural orientation and BBC children's Chinese identity judgments, and secondly, whether parents' Scottish cultural orientation was associated with BBC children's Scottish identity judgements. The details of results are shown in the table below (Table 6.9). The result showed that there was no significant relationship between parents' cultural orientation and their children's perceptions of Chinese and Scottish identities.

**Table 6.9 Association between parents' cultural orientation and children's perceptions of identity.**

BBC Children's judgment in Vignettes	Parents' Cultural Orientation to BBC children	Chi-Square
Chinese identity in Chinese vignettes	Chinese language proficiency	$\chi^2 (1, 45)=0.09, p>.05$
	Chinese social affiliation	$\chi^2 (1, 45)=0.14, p>.05$
	Exposure to Chinese culture	$\chi^2 (1, 45)=3.21, p>.05$
Scottish identity in Scottish vignettes	English language proficiency	$\chi^2 (1, 45)=0.97, p>.05$
	Scottish social affiliation	$\chi^2 (1, 45)=0, p>.05$
	Exposure to Scottish culture	$\chi^2 (1, 45)=0.45, p>.05$

## 6.5 Discussion

The purpose of study 3 reported in this Chapter is to investigate whether social context influences on BBC children's sense of national/ethnic identity. To examine the social context, study 3 measured BBC and white Scottish children's judgments of identity characters' identity shifts with socio-cultural contexts. It also considered parents' perception of cultural orientation attitudes to BBC children and the relationship between parents' cultural orientation and children's identity. Study 3 addressed five research questions. Firstly, does varying the cultural context between Chinese and Scottish vignettes have an effect on BBC and white Scottish children's perceptions of how Chinese or Scottish the vignette character feels? Secondly, are there age-related changes in BBC children and white Scottish children's judgements of vignette characters' identity? Thirdly, are feelings of positivity among BBC and white Scottish children different in Chinese versus Scottish vignettes? Are there age-related changes in vignette characters' feeling of positivity? Fourthly, is there a

correlation between children's identity perceptions and feelings of positivity in Chinese versus Scottish vignettes? Fifthly, is there an association between parents' cultural orientation attitudes and their BBC children's identities? The following sections will discuss the results of each question in turn.

### **6.5.1 Social context differences in evaluating the characters' ethnic identity between the BBC and white Scottish children**

The first research question of this chapter concerned whether the social context influences BBC and white Scottish children's perception of vignette characters' judgment of their ethnic identity. The results showed that BBC children and white Scottish children's judgements of the characters' ethnic identity changed with the social context, as manipulated in the vignettes. This finding is in line with SIT, particularly SCT, which emphasized the importance of social context in forming social identity (Turner et al., 1987, also see review in Chapter 1, section 1.2.2). SCT theorists suggested that social category is inherently relational (Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1994). The social context people are referenced to will be crucial to shape their social category. Study 3 is consistent with the other studies which suggest that social context is important to individuals' judgments to ethnic identity. Kinket and Verkuyten's study (1997) suggested that when the ethnic minority groups of children become numerically large in the social settings, ethnic identity become salient to ethnic minority groups of children. A study was conducted with 490 children (age between 10 and 13years old) from both ethnic majority (Dutch children) and ethnic minority (Turkish children in Dutch) backgrounds. The study was conducted in 35 classes of 19 primary schools in Dutch cities and examined three levels of children's ethnic identification: 'ethnic self-definition', 'ethnic evaluation' and 'ethnic introjection'. The results revealed that school class accounted for differences of children's description and evaluation of their ethnic identity. Turkish children were more likely to refer to their ethnic identity if Turkish children constituted a relatively large size in the class. In contrast, majority group of Dutch children were less likely to refer to their ethnic identification when they constituted as a majority group. This study implied that social context was particularly salient to ethnic minority groups of children's ethnic identification (Kinket & Verkuyten, 1997). Similar results were



found in Hutnik's (1985) study. Hutnik's (1985) study found that south Asian children were more likely to mention their ethnic origin when they were accounted for a numerical majority in the school. Another study conducted by Hopkins et al. (2011) also showed that children's evaluation of national identity was depended on the social context. Hopkin et al.'s (2011) study assessed the national in-group of Scottish people, in comparison to Greek people and English people by means of rating on various traits dimensions. When rated in relation to Greek people, participants described the Scottish as aloof, organized, hardworking and not very warm. In contrast, when the comparator group was English people, participants described the Scottish as warm and not so aloof. The findings supported self-categorisation theory which indicate that self-categorisation is depended on the intergroup social context. Consistent with the previous research, Study 3 reported in this Chapter draws attention to the effect of social context in influencing children's ethnic identity.

### **6.5.2 Age development in children's judgment of identity**

The second research question concerned age-related changes in BBC and white Scottish children's judgements of vignette characters' identity. The findings in the present study revealed that BBC and white Scottish children's judgements of characters' Scottish identity decreased in Chinese vignettes and increased in Scottish vignettes with age increased. This result suggests that children's judgments of social identity are matched with the social context in which they are situated. The developmental perspective of children's judgment of identity can be explained by SIT (Tajfel, 1986; Turner, 1999). SIT (Tajfel, 1986; Turner, 1999) provides an account to explain the development of perceptions of Chinese identity and Scottish identity across the ages observed in Study 3. SIT postulates that inter-group attitudes are influenced by several factors: the salience of the out-group, the relevance to the in-group as well as the relationship of the out-group and in-group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Older children, in study 3, are more likely than younger children to have knowledge of the historical inter-group relationship that existed between China and Scotland. Hence, older children are more likely to display Chinese identity in Chinese vignettes and Scottish identity in Scottish vignettes.

This is in line with Nesdale's (1999 a) study which applied the vignette task to examine developmental changes in children's ethnic preference. The study was carried out with 270 Anglo-Australian children from 8-, 10-, and 12- year-old in three types of schools (higher, middle and lower class). Children were asked to listen to a story about two boys (one Australian and one Vietnamese boy) who display four traits which were consistent with his ethnicity and four traits which are inconsistent with his ethnic group. Participated children were measured in terms of age-related changes in memory of the character, liking for the story character, and attributions to the characters' behaviours. The results revealed that despite the identical information of story character about in-group and out-group provided; children's response systematically changed from 8 to 12 years old. As age increases, children liked the out-group story characters and disliked in-group story characters. The study implied that in-group identification is not necessarily lead to out-groups dislike. Furthermore, the study supported the influence of intergroup process is consistent with SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). There are some similarities and differences reported in Nesdale's study (1999 a) and the current study 3. Both studies used vignettes technique to examine age-related development of children's in-group and out-group judgments. However, the results of age-related change between the two studies were different. Nesdale's (1999 a) study revealed children dislike in-group when they grow older whereas study 3 showed that BBC and white Scottish children's judgments of vignette characters were more in favour of their own group as age increases. This difference implied that the developmental model of intergroup attitudes can not be generalized to every ethnic and cultural group.

### **6.5.3 BBC and white Scottish children's judgment of feelings of positivity**

The third research question focused on differences in the feelings of positivity among BBC and white Scottish children in Chinese versus Scottish vignettes and across the age. The analysis showed that both BBC and white Scottish children judged the character feels more positive (as a proxy for self-esteem) in Scottish vignettes than in Chinese vignettes. There was no significant difference of feeling of positivity between BBC and white Scottish children across all ages. The possible explanation

for this is that white Scottish is a majority ethnic group in Scotland, and ethnic Chinese is a numerically small ethnic minority group. BBC and white Scottish children evaluated vignette characters' feeling of positivity at a higher level when they were in a majority social setting. This finding is in line with social comparison strategy of SIT, as reviewed in Chapter 1 (section 1.2.1). SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) suggested that when comparison between in-group and out-group happens, in-group members will apply social comparison strategies like 'individual mobility', 'social creativity' and 'social competition' in order to achieve a positive self-esteem. Different social comparison strategies happened in different situations. Individual mobility is more likely to happen when the group boundaries are permeable, whereas social creativity and social competition is more likely to happen when the group boundaries are impermeable. In study 3, BBC and white Scottish children judged the characters will have a higher level of positivity if they apply the "individual mobility" strategy, that is shift their in-group (Chinese identity) to out-group (Scottish identity). In the case of BBC children, in-group and out-group boundaries are permeable to them as in-group is their ethnic identity and out-group is their national identity. This finding greatly supported social comparison strategy from SIT. In addition, it showed that the flexibility of BBC children in shifting their identity underlying the motivation of achieving positive self-esteem.

#### **6.5.4 The relationship between identity and feelings of positivity**

The fourth research question of study 3 sought to address the relationship between national identity/ethnic identity and feelings of positivity in two types of vignette. The outcome of the correlational analysis revealed that: strength of Chinese identity in Chinese vignettes correlated with judgments of characters' feelings of positivity among Scottish children; whereas Chinese identity in Scottish vignettes correlated with judgements of characters' feelings of positivity among BBC children. It shows that both BBC and white Scottish children's judgement of the vignette characters' ethnic identity (Chinese) correlated with their feelings of positivity. The finding regarding ethnic identity is consistent with Bracey et al's (2004) study that showed a positive relationship between ethnic identity and self-esteem among biracial adolescents. Bracey et al.'s (2004) study was conducted with 3282 adolescents from

both biracial and mono-racial background. This study assessed adolescents' self-esteem using Rosenberg's self-esteem scale (Rosenberg, 1965) and ethnic identity using MEIM (Phinney, 1992). It also collected demographic information of participants. The study revealed that there was no differences in self-esteem among the ethnic groups. Biracial adolescents showed higher level in ethnic identification than white adolescents. There was positive significant relationship between ethnic identity and self-esteem for both biracial and monoracial adolescents. In addition, Phinney (1991) suggested that the relationship between ethnic identity and self-esteem only existed among those who identified themselves as ethnic minority group members and those who perceived ethnicity to be salient to them. Therefore, study 3 reported in this chapter supports the view that ethnic identity has positive relationship with self-esteem. It also implies that BBC children think ethnic identity is important to them.

#### **6.5.5 The relationship between parents' cultural orientation and children's identity**

The fifth research question concerned parents' cultural orientation and the relationship between parents' cultural orientation and BBC children's identities. The study revealed that language proficiency, social affiliation and exposure to the culture were the main factors that influenced cultural orientation of children. There were significant differences of BBC children's language proficiency in using English and Chinese. This finding is in line with a study conducted by Vedder and Virta (2005) which suggested that using ethnic language is particularly difficult for the second generation of immigrant children. However, there is increasing evidence that knowledge and usage of ethnic language will contribute to ethnic identity of immigrant children and also have a positive effect on developmental outcomes for children in immigrant families (Bankston & Zhou, 1995; Luo & Wiseman, 2000; Phinney, Romero, Nara, & Huang, 2001). A study was conducted with first and second generation Vietnamese adolescents in New Orleans to examine the relationship between ethnic language and ethnic identity (Bankston & Zhou, 1995). Ethnic identity and ability to read and write ethnic language were assessed separately. The result indicted that there was strong correlation between language and ethnic

identity. This study suggested that parents' desire to convey ethnic language to their children was considered as an important part of cultural maintenance.

The fifth question also focused on the relationship between parents' cultural orientation and BBC children's identities. Study 3 showed there was no association between parents' cultural orientation and their children's identity. This is different from the argument that there is a positive relationship between parents' cultural socialization and children's ethnic identity and self-esteem (Hughes, et al., 2006, 2009; Ou & McAdoo, 1993; 1999). Parents' exposure of their children to ethnic culture and language will facilitate children's knowledge of their ethnic in-group and enhance children's in-group favouritism. In early studies conducted with African American families, parents' own racial attitudes (Branch & Newcombe, 1986) and parents' value regarding traditional history (Spencer, 1983) were associated with children's more "Afro-centric" and less "Euro-centric" ethnic identity. In a study with Mexican American families, results indicated that the more parents taught their children about cultural knowledge and ethnic pride, the more children would prefer Mexican behaviours (Knight, Bernal, Garza, et al., 1993). It may be because Modified GEQ questionnaire to assess parents cultural orientation is an adapted version of the General Ethnicity Questionnaire (GEQ) (Tsai et al., 2000). Furthermore, the identity vignettes task is a newly designed method that has not been tested before. Hence, the measures were not sensitive enough to identify the relationship between the variables. Therefore, no correlation has been found. Limitations of current analysis are discussed in Chapter 7 (section 7.8). Moreover, cultural processes between parents and their children are diverse in different ethnic and racial groups (Bernal, Jimenez-Chafey, & Rodriguez, 2009). Therefore, the relationship between parents' cultural orientation and children's identity found in the other studies might not necessarily fit BBC children and their parents in the current study.

## **6.6 Conclusion**

In summary, Study 3 examined the influence of social context on BBC and white Scottish children's judgements of vignette characters' identity in different cultural contexts by using identity vignettes. It also examined the potential links between

cultural orientation and attitudes of parents and identity judgements of BBC children. The study has made several contributions to the current social identity literature and methods. Firstly, the results have demonstrated the cultural context plays an important role in children's attitudes towards their ethnic identity. Both BBC and white Scottish children adjusted their judgements of a character's sense of Chinese or Scottish identity depending on the cultural context in which the character was portrayed. Secondly, with increasing age, children attributed more Chinese identity in a Chinese social context and more Scottish identity in a Scottish social context. Thirdly, the findings revealed the relationship between ethnic identity and feeling of positivity. Both BBC and white Scottish children judged that the characters' Chinese identity was related to feelings of positivity in both Chinese and Scottish vignettes. Fourthly, a measure of the cultural orientation attitudes of parents showed the importance of language, social affiliation and exposure to the culture on children's identity formation.

The study 3 reported in Chapter 6 revealed that social context influences BBC and White Scottish children's judgments of Chinese vignettes characters' ethnic/ national identity. In addition, study 3 contributed to the social identity theory from different perspectives. Firstly, study 3 did not agree with developmental theory of social identity but the current results was in line with social comparison strategies presented in SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, and see Chapter, section 1.2.1). Secondly, it supported SSCMT which suggested that social contexts play an important role in influence children's ethnic identity (Barrett 2007, and see Chapter 1, section 1.4.1). Thirdly, as social identity theory and social developmental theory have been based primarily on data collected from majority groups of children only. Study 3 contributed to the richness of existing data by examining both ethnic minority and ethnic majority groups of children. Lastly, an original contribution of the current study is invention of the culturally tailored identity vignettes to measure children's identity preference and feeling of positivity in different social contexts.

Overall, study 1 examined the cross-cultural differences of social identity and self-esteem among BBC, Hong Kong Chinese, Mainland Chinese and white Scottish

children across different ages. Study 2 examined the national identification, ethnic categorisation and intergroup attitudes between BBC and white Scottish children across three age groups. Study 3 examined the roles of social contextual factors in influencing BBC and white Scottish children's judgments of BBC characters' ethnic/national identity. Chapter 7, the concluding chapter of this thesis, will synthesis the key empirical findings reported in studies 1, 2 and 3. The implication of the cross-cultural differences in the development of social identity, and ethnic minority BBC children's identity and self-esteem will be discussed in relation to current theories of social identity development. The findings of this research raise a number of important implications for policy and practice that will also be addressed in Chapter 7.

## **CHAPTER 7**

### **GENERAL DISCUSSION**

#### **7.1 Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to draw together the results presented in this thesis by considering the development of social identity among Mainland Chinese, Hong Kong Chinese, BBC and white Scottish children. The first objective of the chapter is to discuss the main findings in relation to children's development of social identity by synthesizing key findings emerging from the three studies reported in this thesis. The second objective of the chapter is to address the implications of these studies from the perspectives of theory, policy and practice. The third objective of the chapter is to address the limitations of the three studies and to make suggestions for future research.

This thesis primarily set out to understand the sense of belonging of one ethnic minority group of children in Scotland: BBC children. In order to do that, the thesis took a cross-cultural approach to compare BBC minority children with their majority counterparts from two groups: children who share the same national identity – white Scottish children, and children who share the ethnic identity – Mainland Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese children. In addition, this thesis applied a developmental approach to examine social identity among the four cultural groups of children at the ages of 8, 11 and 14 years old.

The three separate but connected studies that comprise this doctoral research have provided new insights into the development of children's social identity, ethnic identity and intergroup attitudes during childhood and early adolescence in both Western and Eastern cultures.

Study 1: 'Cross-cultural comparison of social identity and self-esteem among Mainland Chinese, Hong Kong Chinese, BBC and white Scottish children' (Chapter 4) explored cultural similarities and differences in social identity development and its relation to self-esteem across four cultural groups of children



and three age groups. It addressed three main research questions. Firstly, are there differences in the way the four cultural groups of children perceive their social identity and does the way in which these groups of children perceive their social identity change with age? Secondly, are there differences in the self-esteem scores across the four ethnic groups and if so, do these scores change with age? Thirdly, are there associations between patterns of social identity and measures of self-esteem? If so, do they differ across the groups?

Study 2: ‘Self-identification and intergroup attitudes between BBC and white Scottish children’ (Chapter 5). This study focused on BBC and white Scottish children. Importantly, these two groups share a national context, but differ in terms of ethnic identity. Three research questions are addressed: Firstly, how do BBC and white Scottish children categorize themselves in terms of nationality? Secondly, to what degree do BBC children identify with their national identity as Scottish versus their ethnic identity as Chinese, and does the strength of national identification compare with that of white Scottish children? Thirdly, how positively or negatively do BBC and white Scottish children perceive Chinese and Scottish people, and is there any relation between the strength of liking of each national group and the positivity of evaluating the group? For each of these three questions, developmental changes (across the three age groups) are also investigated.

Study 3: ‘Contextual factors that influence BBC and white Scottish children’s developing understanding of BBC children’s sense of ethnic identity’ (Chapter 6) focused on the degree to which social context influences BBC children’s ethnic identity from the perspectives of BBC children and their white majority peers. This study introduced a novel social identity vignettes task to examine BBC and white Scottish children’s perceptions of ethnic identity of a BBC character within two contrasting socio-cultural contexts (Scottish versus Chinese). It also examined the potential role of parental influence in identity development. Five research questions are addressed: Firstly, does varying the cultural context between Chinese and Scottish vignettes have an effect on BBC and white Scottish children’s judgements of how Chinese or Scottish the vignette character feels? Secondly, are there age-

related changes in BBC and white Scottish children's judgements of vignette characters' identity? Thirdly, are judgements of the BBC characters' feelings of positivity by BBC children and white Scottish children different in Chinese versus Scottish vignettes and do they vary with age? Fourthly, is there a correlation between children's judgements of identity and feelings of positivity in Chinese versus Scottish vignettes? Fifthly, is there an association between parents' cultural orientation attitudes and BBC children's judgements of BBC characters' identities?

## **7.2 Synthesising emergent themes across studies**

This final chapter will synthesise the findings from all three studies, discuss the overall patterns found in the research, and links to the relevant theory in the existing literature. In synthesising the findings across the three studies, five themes emerge and are worthy of closer discussion. The first concerns cultural differences and within culture effects among four cultural groups of children. The second considers BBC children's integrated identity and positive self-esteem. The third focuses on children's development of social identity with age. The fourth considers intergroup relationships between BBC and white Scottish children. Finally, the fifth theme emphasizes the importance of social context in shaping children's ethnic identity. In what follows, each theme will be discussed in detail.

### **7.2.1 Cross-cultural differences in the development of social identity**

The results of this doctoral research expand our understanding of cross-cultural similarities and differences in identity and also within-cultural variations in children's identity development, and highlight the important role of culture, at various levels, on children's construction of their social self. In Study 1 (Chapter 4), the "Who am I?" self-description questionnaire was used to examine children's social identities. Children's responses were categorised into collective self, individual self and relational self, based on three levels of self-construal (Brewer & Gardner, 1996). The findings demonstrated that across these four cultural groups of children, individual self was the most common form of identity. However, white Scottish children had a significantly higher proportion of identity that fell under individual self in social identity than the other three groups; whereas, compared to

white Scottish children, BBC, Mainland Chinese, and Hong Kong Chinese children had a significantly greater proportion of identity representing collective self.

These findings are in line with the argument that cultural differences in social identification reflect differences in the extent to which societies emphasize either collectivism or individualism (Triandis, 1995, 2001; Triandis & Matsumoto, 2001). As reviewed in Chapter 2, the general understanding of collective culture (COL) is that it is based on interdependence, whereas individual culture (IND) is focused more on autonomy and differentiation between the individual self and others (Brewer & Yuki, 2007). The cultural differences between COL and IND can be explained from two perspectives: self-definition and group value. In terms of self-definition, collective culture makes a greater distinction between in-group and out-groups, whereas individual culture primarily focuses on self and others (Brewer & Yuki, 2007). Consequently, collectivists are expected to show high levels of in-group favouritism and out-group discrimination. In contrast, individualists are expected to be less discriminatory. In terms of group values, collectivists make no distinction between personal and collective goals, or they subordinate their personal goals to collective goals (Triandis, 1989, 2001). In contrast, individualists value their personal goals higher than group goals, and they show less group loyalty. Study 1 revealed the difference between Chinese ethnic groups and the white Scottish group in reference to their collective identity and individual identity. However, the study did not include exploration of the difference between IND and COL in the level of self-definition and group value. Further research is needed to explore children's self-definition and group value in terms of differences between IND and COL in order to clarify this theoretical proposition.

In addition to the clear cross-cultural differences in patterns of social identity between the three groups of children with ethnic Chinese origin and white Scottish children, as described above, there were also some noteworthy differences between the cultures in the ways in which the children expressed themselves. Mainland Chinese children used metaphor to describe themselves much more than white Scottish children; Hong Kong Chinese and BBC children fell somewhere between

the two. This suggests that cultural factors may exert an important influence on the extent to which children describe themselves in a metaphorical way. As was noted in Chapter 4 (section 4.5.1), future studies are suggested to explore these novel data in more depth to establish why Mainland Chinese children use so many metaphorical expressions in self-description and Hong Kong, BBC and white Scottish children do not.

Although BBC children were born in the UK and have grown up in Scotland, they have a sense of collectivism that is higher than their white Scottish peers, and similar to their Chinese counterparts in Mainland China and Hong Kong. This finding implies that ethnic identity and ethnic culture play important roles in shaping an ethnic minority group of children's perceptions of self. As reviewed in Chapter 1 (section 1.3), ethnic identity is important to ethnic minority groups and it has been widely acknowledged to have an important influence on various outcomes, such as academic achievement (Arellano & Padilla, 1996), coping with racism and discrimination (Phinney & Chavira, 1995) and psychological well-being (Umana-Taylor, Diversi, & Fine, 2002).

On the other hand, BBC children's identity is also influenced by the culture in which they are growing up. In Study 1, in terms of the question "Who do you compare yourself to?", both BBC and white Scottish children primarily responded to this question with "do not compare themselves to the others" (32% and 31%), or compare themselves with friends (27% and 28%). In contrast, a higher proportion of Mainland Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese children compared themselves with classmates (62% and 37%). This shows that differences in the two cultural settings: Chinese and Scottish, influence children's comparisons between themselves and others. In Chinese culture, high emphasis on academic success in school settings has long been considered as an important factor in children's development of a sense of self (see review in Chapter 2, section 2.6). The results of Study 1 support this insofar as they showed a large number of Chinese children compare themselves to their classmates in their school. In the UK, the individual culture is highly valued in society, therefore, children who grown up in Scotland (BBC and

white Scottish children) show less tendency to compare themselves with others, and academic comparison is not a priority. The similarity between BBC and white Scottish groups in response to the question of comparing themselves to others suggests that this is one aspect of UK culture where the ethnic influence is minimal for BBC children. Therefore, it is likely that both ethnic culture and mainstream national culture influence BBC children's development of social identity. This interpretation is also supported in the review in Chapter 2 (section 2.3.4), in which the new generation of BBC youth have reported creating a new ethnicity which embraces both Chinese and British identity (Parker & Song, 2009). Hence, the next result theme to be discussed is BBC children's development of an integrated identity.

### **7.2.2 BBC children's integrated identity and positive self-esteem**

Findings from all three studies, when taken together, suggest that BBC children possess an integrated identity that is linked to their positive self-esteem. In the first task of Study 2 (Chapter 5, section 5.4.2), BBC and white Scottish children were asked "Where are you from?" in different locations (Scotland, China and USA). Overall, BBC children more frequently mentioned their British identity than Chinese identity. In the second task of Study 2 (Chapter 5, section 5.4.3) children were asked about the degree to which they felt Chinese, Scottish or both Chinese and Scottish. The result showed BBC children identified themselves as more Chinese than Scottish in regards to how Chinese or how Scottish they felt, and they considered themselves as both Chinese and Scottish if they had this option of categorisation. Comparing the first and the second tasks in Study 2, the first task revealed that BBC children were more likely to mention their British national identity, whereas in the second task, BBC children identified themselves as feeling more like Chinese or both Scottish and Chinese. The findings from the first and the second tasks in Study 2 concluded that BBC children combined both Chinese and Scottish identity in their social identity and they have adopted an integrated identity.

As reviewed in Chapter 2 (section 2.3.5), ethnic identity and national identity are considered as two independent dimensions of social identity (Bourhis, Moise,

Perreault, & Senecal, 1997). The model proposes that each identity can be strong or weak. An individual who maintains a strong ethnic identity and also identifies with the new society has an integrated identity. One who has strong ethnic identity but does not identify with the new culture has a separated identity. Abandoning ethnic identity and only identifying with the new culture leads to an assimilated identity. The individual who has neither identified with ethnic identity nor identified with national identity has a marginalized identity. Previous research shows that a combination of the strong ethnic identity and national identity will help ethnic minority children to achieve the best adaptation (Phinney et al., 2001). The acculturation model (Berry, 1997, 2001) is useful to understand immigrant children's perception of their ethnic identity and national identity (Phinney, 1990; Phinney et al., 2001). Acculturation encourages immigrant children to maintain their cultural heritage and to adapt to the host country. The model highlighted that the immigrants' acculturation process does not necessarily mean giving up their own culture in order to adapt to the new society. Moreover, acculturating individuals who adopt an integrated strategy would achieve better psychological and sociocultural adaptation (Berry, 2005; Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Ward & Kennedy, 1994).

Support towards an integrated identity in BBC children was also evident from parents' data in Study 3. In this study, parents were asked to complete an adapted version of the "Modified General Ethnicity Questionnaire" (Tsai et al., 2000) to assess parents' cultural orientation concerning their children's experience of Chinese or Scottish culture. The study identified three factors influencing BBC children's cultural orientation: language proficiency, social affiliation, and exposure to the culture. Among those factors, there were no significant differences in BBC children's social affiliation and exposure to Chinese and Scottish culture. These findings suggested parents as a group are helping shape an integrated identity in their children by supporting their involvement in both cultures. However, parents reported that children were more fluent in using English than Chinese language. As BBC children are born and growing up in Scotland, they speak English in schools and with friends. Their opportunities to speak Chinese or

exposure to Chinese language are only at home or within Chinese communities. Therefore, it is not surprising that BBC children have a better proficiency level in English. Nevertheless, as was discussed in Chapter 6 (section 6.5.5), Bankston and Zhou (2005) suggested that knowledge and usage of ethnic language among immigrant children will contribute to their ethnic identity and various developmental outcomes.

In line with the point that those children who have integrated social identity would be likely to have positive self-esteem and psychological well-being (Berry, 2005), the positive self-esteem of BBC children is evidenced in Study 1 and Study 3. In Study 1, the Modified Harter Self-Esteem Questionnaire (Hoare et al., 1993) showed that although the BBC children are an ethnic minority group in Scotland, they have positive self-esteem. The result of Study 1 showed no significant difference between BBC children's level of self-esteem and that of their majority group counterparts: Mainland Chinese, Hong Kong Chinese and white Scottish children. In Study 3 (Chapter 6), BBC and white Scottish children's judgments of vignette characters' feeling of positivity was generally quite high in both Chinese and Scottish vignettes. It implied that BBC children and white Scottish children judged the BBC characters to have positive self-esteem. Therefore, it is concluded that BBC children, as an ethnic minority group of children, have positive self-esteem themselves and associate positive feelings with BBC children.

As outlined in the literature review in both Chapter 1 (section 1.2.4) and Chapter 4 (section 4.1.3), evidence is contradictory with respect to the relationship between ethnic identity and self-esteem. Traditional, SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) suggests that people strive to achieve and maintain a positive social identity in order to achieve positive self-esteem. The positive social identity is derived from favourable comparison between in-group and out-group. Therefore, individuals from ethnic minority groups might have a negative self-esteem because of the disadvantaged social status. However, Umana-Taylor (2004) examined ethnic identity and self-esteem with 1062 Mexican origin adolescents in the United States and found adolescents' ethnic identity was positively related to their global self-esteem. This

research finding indicated that it is possible for ethnic minority groups of adolescents to have positive self-esteem.

One of the most important findings from the three studies was that, contrary to the SIT prediction that belonging to an ethnic minority child group will be related to lower self-esteem, it is indeed possible for ethnic minority child group to have positive self-esteem. In addition, as most previous research on ethnic identity and self-esteem has focused on adolescents, these three studies contribute new findings to the modest literature on social identity and self-esteem among children. One possible reason that BBC children have positive self-esteem may be because they are accepted by the majority society. As Study 3 showed, both white Scottish children and BBC children made similar judgments of vignettes characters' ethnic/national identity in different situations. Both BBC and white Scottish children scored high for vignette characters' feelings of positivity in any circumstances. An alternative explanation is that BBC children have an integrated social identity (Study 2), which has helped them to maintain a positive self-esteem (Berry, 2005).

### **7.2.3 Children's development of social identity**

Some patterns of development in social identity are evident across the age groups in Study 1 and Study 2. In Study 1, no statistical difference appeared with age or culture group in collective self, though there was a trend for collective self to reduce in adolescence for all groups except the BBC children. However, change in the individual self was evident in two of the four cultural groups of children. Findings showed that the individual aspect of social identity among Mainland Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese children increased with age. This demonstrates that development of the individual self does occur in children from a collective cultural background. By contrast, no change in the individual sense of self appeared in either white Scottish or BBC children with age. BBC children's sense of individual self remained low relative to white Scottish children and similar to the younger Chinese and Hong Kong children. This implies that ethnic majority and ethnic minority groups of children have different patterns of identity development: As they get older, ethnic majority groups of children are increasing



their sense of individual self in society, with a non-significant trend away from collective self, whereas the ethnic minority children do not show this trend. It may be that individual self is less important to ethnic minority groups of children and collective self remains important as their parents or home environment influence them more strongly than the other groups. These findings add to the current literature that the development of social identity is different between ethnic majority and ethnic minority groups of children.

Study 1 also showed a reversed pattern of behavioural self-esteem across the cultural groups and age groups. BBC children have a higher level of behavioural self-esteem as age increases. In contrast white Scottish and Mainland Chinese children have higher behavioural self-esteem in the younger age groups. The different patterns in developing behavioural self-esteem between BBC and ethnic majority groups of children indicate that self-esteem development of ethnic majority and ethnic minority groups of children are likely to be influenced by different cultural factors.

Study 2 suggested that age may be one of the factors that influenced BBC children's self-categorisation in questions related to their national identity in the USA and China. As age increases, BBC children increase the frequency of mention of their British identity and decrease the frequency of mention of their Chinese identity. These findings are in line with national identity development among children (Chapter 5, section 5.1.1) (Barrett, 2007). Younger children may have some confusion in differentiating their ethnic identity and national identity. With increasing age, children develop better knowledge to make distinctions between ethnic identity and national identity.

#### **7.2.4 Intergroup attitudes of BBC and white Scottish children**

The key research aim in this thesis is to examine BBC children's belonging in terms of ethnic identity and national identity and also from a developmental perspective. Study 2 (Chapter 5) examined the intergroup attitudes of BBC children and white Scottish children towards Chinese people and Scottish people. To BBC

children, Scottish and Chinese constitute their national group and ethnic group respectively; whereas to Scottish children, Scottish and Chinese constitute an in-group and an out-group. Analyses showed that both BBC and white Scottish children evaluated Chinese and Scottish groups positively. However, BBC children attributed more positive traits to Chinese than to Scottish people and white Scottish children attributed more positive traits to Scottish than to Chinese people. There were significant differences between BBC children and white Scottish children in their like/dislike of Scottish people. White Scottish children also showed more affection towards Scottish people than did BBC children. There were no significant age differences in children's intergroup attitudes towards Chinese and Scottish people. The findings from Study 2 suggested that both BBC and white Scottish children favour their own in-groups. In the case of Scottish children it is national, and in the case of BBC children it is ethnic/cultural.

This finding from Study 2 is consistent with SIT (Tajfel, 1978). One of the key features in SIT is in-group favouritism and out-group derogation (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) (Chapter 1, section 1.2.1). Within the framework of SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), in-group favouritism and out-group prejudice has been considered as the consequence of an individual's identification of himself or herself as a part of social group membership (Bigler & Liben, 2007). This prediction implies that the extent of in-group favouritism and out-group prejudice correlate positively with the strength of in-group identification (Barrett, 2007). However, some scholars have argued that in-group favouritism and out-group prejudice are distinct attitudes (Aboud, 2003). The function and motivation for in-group and out-group attitude construction is to promote a positive self-concept and related self-esteem. The findings from Study 2 are also consistent with a number of experimental studies that employed a similar task to examine children's intergroup attitudes (Barrett, 2007; Bennett et al., 1998; Nesdale & Flessner, 2001). A study was conducted with 459 British children (including 220 Scottish and 239 English) to examine the children's evaluation of their own national group (English, Scottish and British) and the other national groups (Italian, German, French and Spanish) through an

adjective card sorting task (Bennett et al., 1998). The result showed children rate the in-group more positively than out-groups.

There are some similarities and differences between the intergroup attitudes studies in this thesis and the previous intergroup attitude studies reviewed in Chapter 1 and Chapter 4. The differences between the studies are based on the relationship of participant groups. Study 2 took a different perspective to compare intergroup attitudes between an ethnic minority group (BBC children) in Scotland and an ethnic majority group (white Scottish children) where children shared their nationality. The previous researchers made intergroup comparisons between national groups (Barrett et al., 2004), linguistic groups (Reizábal et al., 2003) and groups with different levels of abilities (Nesdale et al., 2004). The similarity between those studies is based on the measurement. The present study adopted an adjective card sorting task (Barrett et al., 1998), which is widely used in other intergroup attitudes studies. The implication of the intergroup attitudes findings presented in Study 2 is that it expands our knowledge of the range of application of this method to assess the different ethnic groups of children, different types of intergroup attitudes and in different socio-historical settings.

There were no developmental changes in children's attitudes towards in-group and out-group in Study 2. This finding was inconsistent with developmental predictions of CDT (Aboud, 1988, 2008) and SIDT (Nesdale, 2004, 2008) (see Chapter 1, section 1.3). Both CDT and SIDT postulate that children's development of intergroup attitude changes with age. The review presented in Chapter 1 (section 1.3.1), CDT (Aboud, 1988, 2008) predicted that children's development of positive traits to in-group and negative traits to out-groups peaks at 6-7 years old. Between 6-7 years and 11-12 years, children attribute more negative traits to in-group and positive traits to out-groups. SIDT (Nesdale, 2004, 2008) suggested a different developmental prediction from CDT. SIDT (Nesdale, 2004, 2008) proposed that children's ethnic prejudice develops after 7 years old.

However, the intergroup attitudes of BBC and white Scottish children shown in Study 2 neither agree with CDT nor SIDT. This implies that developmental theories of social identity cannot apply universally to every ethnic group within a culture. Some other factors may influence children's development of intergroup attitudes. SSCMT (Barrett, 2007) suggested there is a substantial variability in the development of children's intergroup attitudes in specific social contexts (see Chapter 1, section 1.4.1). It is possible that children's development of attitudes toward in-group and out-group will vary depending on the social context and the relationship between in-group and out-groups. Hence, the next result theme will present the role of social context in influencing children's development of identity.

### **7.2.5 The role of social context in influencing children's ethnic identity**

The final results theme relates to the role of social context in influencing children's ethnic identity and ethnic attitude development. The three studies in this thesis have demonstrated that social context is an important factor in influencing BBC children's ethnic identity. In Study 1, despite growing up in Scotland, BBC children were similar to the other Chinese groups in terms of having a stronger sense of collective self than the white Scottish children, and lower sense of individual self, suggesting that the social context represented at home or in the ethnic community influences BBC children's collective and individualist ways of thinking about themselves. In Study 2, BBC children's sense of national identity varied in different national contexts, which suggested the social context influences BBC children's categorization of their national identities. In study 3, the identity vignettes were designed to examine BBC and white Scottish children's judgments about a character's ethnic Chinese identity, national Scottish identity, and feelings of positivity in relation to Chinese and Scottish social environments/events. The results showed that both BBC and white Scottish children judged that for a BBC character, portrayed in a story vignette, Chinese/Scottish identity would be closely associated with the matched social environments in which the character was placed.

The data results in the three studies were consistent with SSCMT (Barrett, 2007). As reviewed in Chapter1 (section 1.4.1), SSCMT provided a framework to explain

that different social context factors influence children's intergroup attitudes. The findings in the three studies were also consistent with an experimental study which examined the variation of ethnic identity among adolescents. A study explored variation of ethnic identity with 622 Greek-Australian, Italian-Australian and Anglo-Australian adolescents (Rosenthal & Hrynevich, 1985). The study revealed that for Greek and Italian Australian children, being in a Greek or Italian social environment elicited stronger feelings of their ethnic identity and a strong identification with their ethnic culture. This finding from the study indicated that adolescents' ethnic identity can change according to social context.

Although it is widely acknowledged that social context influences children's degree of ethnic identity (Sabatier, 2008), and it is important to consider an individual's ethnicity embedded in multiple contexts, there are limited research methods to study the role of social context in influencing the different ethnic groups with different cultural backgrounds. To date, no research has used the vignettes technique to examine children's ethnic identity/ national identity in tailored cultural contexts. Therefore, it is unique for Study 3 to apply the vignette technique to examine an ethnic minority group of children's judgement in terms of their national identity, ethnic identity and feeling of positivity (for more detail see section 7.5). The results of Study 3 also contributed to the knowledge of the influence of social context in children's identity formation.

However, the findings from Study 3 failed to identify a relationship between parents' acculturation measures and children's identity measures (Hughes et al., 2006). These findings did not support the view that parents' acculturation and socialization (such as transmitting language, the cultural values and the customs from the ethnic country) contribute to the children's perception of ethnic identity (Sabatier, 2008) (see Chapter 2, section 2.3.6 and Chapter 6, section 6.1.2). A possible reason for not finding this relationship has been discussed in Chapter 6 (section 6.5.6): identity vignettes are a newly designed measurement, and the parental cultural orientation questionnaire is an adapted measurement and therefore, both measurements are probably not sensitive enough to detect association between

these two variables. Future studies will benefit from conducting association analysis between structured measurements. In addition, only 46 children and their parents participated in this association test. A larger sample size to test this association is needed in the future.

The current findings do not support the positive relationship between social identity and self-esteem (Abrams & Hogg, 2006). As discussed in Chapter 4 (section 4.4.3), there are no significant correlations between three levels of social identity (collective identity, individual identity and relational identity) and five subscales of self-esteem (scholastic, athletic, social, physical, behaviour and global self-esteem). The probable reason for not finding any such correlations has been discussed in Chapter 4 (section 4.5.5): the relationship between social identity and self-esteem is derived from SIT (Tajfel, 1978). There have been limited empirical studies providing evidence of the relationship between social identity and self-esteem. In addition, the “Who am I” self-description questionnaire is an open-ended measurement and it may not be sensitive enough to link to self-esteem. Furthermore, most of the studies about the relationship between social identity and self-esteem are focused on ethnic identity and its relationship to self-esteem (Phinney, 1992). Considering those research limitations, future study will benefit from establishing a social identity measurement specifically designed for the task and applying empirical studies to examine social identity and self-esteem grounded on SIT (Tajfel, 1978).

In summary, the findings from the three studies reported in this thesis add to existing theories by explaining the cross-cultural differences and developmental changes in children’s social identity and self-esteem. Culture plays an important role in constructing children’s sense of self within collective cultures and within individual cultures and both aspects can be part of children’s developing identity. The current findings also reinforce the importance of integrating both ethnic and national identity in maintaining ethnic minority groups of children’s self-esteem. Some developmental patterns of children’s social identity are evidenced across the three studies. The findings are consistent with SIT in regard to intergroup attitudes

among children. The discussion thus further highlights that there is not one universal pattern for children to develop their social identity and self-esteem and that it varies across cultural groups. Finally, Studies 1, 2 and 3 showed that children's development of social identity should be considered within social context. The current results, however, could not contribute to explaining developmental changes of intergroup attitudes in social identity, the prediction of an association between social identity and self-esteem or a relationship between parents' acculturation and children's identity. Given the four result themes generated from the three studies, the implication of the present findings for policy and practice will be discussed next in section 7.3.

### **7.3 Implications for policy and practice**

The research in this thesis has emphasized the importance of context in developing social identity. This section looks at the context in which the two groups of children are growing up, with emphasis on policies and practice in relation to cultures.

The concept of multiculturalism can be discussed in three aspects: "demographic perspective", "the ideological-normative" and "the programmatic political" (Inglis, 1996, p.8). From the demographic perspective, multiculturalism refers to a diverse ethnic and racial population in the state and society. The programmatic political usage of multiculturalism refers to specific types of programs and policy that are designed to respond to ethnic diversity (Inglis, 1996). Multiculturalism in ideological normative usage refers to a model for political action based on sociological theorising and ethical philosophical consideration about the place of culturally distinct identity in contemporary society. More specifically, it emphasises that acknowledging the existence of ethnic diversity ensures each individual has the right to retain their culture and also adhere to shared values in society. With the visible ethnic and racial diversity in UK and Scottish society, there is a need for emphasis of the role of multiculturalism. Verkuyten (2005, p.121) defined multiculturalism as "fostering understanding and appreciation of ethnic diversity by acknowledging and respecting minority group identities and cultures."

An overview of current policy indicates that policy and practice have changed since 1997. The present study brought a positive message that BBC children, as an ethnic minority group of children in Scotland, have high self-esteem and an integrated social identity. This section looks at the current policy context in which this occurred. The thesis outcomes are not unrelated to the outlook of the Scottish government which makes efforts to promote the acknowledgement of multiculturalism in Scotland. From September, 2002 to March, 2006, the Scottish Executive launched an advertising campaign “one Scotland many cultures” to raise the awareness of how cultural diversity has contributed to Scottish society and to tackle the negative impact of racial attitudes among the general public. The campaign went through different phases between 2001 and 2005: Phase 1 and Phase 2 (2001) focused on the development of the campaign and establishing a foundation for its progress; Phase 3 (2002) produced the initial TV advertising campaign. Phase 4 (2004) focused on using outdoor flyers and audios to promote cultural diversity to young people. Phase 5 (2005) used multiple tools (such as TV, bus side posters and radio) to promote cultural diversity and positive racial attitudes to towards the non-white population. In Phase 6 and Phase 7 (2005), a representative sample of Scottish adults (N=1033) participated in an interview to explore the changing of attitudes towards cultural diversity and racism as the campaign developed. Findings showed an increasing number of respondents were independently aware of the advertisements on anti-racism (53% in phase 5 and 60% in phase 7). The latest fieldwork also identified that racism became less of a problem to the public within the timeframe of the Scottish Executive’s promotion of multiculturalism. 74% of participants indicated that they should do more to respect the different cultures and different ethnic groups of people living in Scotland.

Inclusive education is highly promoted in the education system in Scotland and is another important practice that may contribute to BBC children’s integrated identity and high self-esteem. The key principles in inclusive education are pursuing equity, social justice, and participation (United Nations Educational



Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 2012). In 2000, the ‘Standards in Scotland’s Schools etc. Act 2000’ introduced a concept of “education for all” to direct the inclusive educational practices in Scotland (Scottish Parliament, 2000). It stated that “All children and young people have an entitlement to education directed to the fullest development of their personality, talents and mental and physical abilities and a right to be educated alongside their peers in mainstream schools” (p. 1). This policy is consistent with the internationally established principle that “all children have a right to education, leisure, recreation and culture on the basis of equal opportunity” (UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989, art. 31).

Based on the Standards in Scotland’s Schools etc. Act 2000, the Scottish Executive Education Department (SEED) (2004) responded to this policy and implemented a new curriculum A Curriculum for Excellence with new values and principles in the Scottish educational system (cited in Scottish Executive, 2006). The new curriculum applied to all educational settings, including teaching, learning and school life for children and adolescents aged 3 to 18. The primary aim of A Curriculum for Excellence is stated as “Our aspiration is to enable all children and young people to develop their capacities as successful learners, confident individuals, responsible citizens and effective contributors to society” (p.3). A Curriculum for Excellence highlighted two points: “inclusion, both educational and social, is central to Scottish educational policy” and “wisdom, justice, compassion and integrity as values on which Scottish society is based” (p.3).

In A Curriculum for Excellence (2006), the important characteristics of inclusive schools are discussed and four sets of key ideas on inclusion that reflect on inclusive education in Scotland are identified: Firstly, the report highlights the importance of collaboration between children/adolescents and wider communities, both within and beyond the schools. Building relationships with parents, schools, and communities creates and enables inclusive education. Secondly, giving the opportunities to support children and adolescents’ learning needs, and their sense of belonging to the class/school community, will affect discrimination and

contribute to inclusive education. Thirdly, as there are complex social and cultural interactions that influence children's and adolescents' development and experience, it is important to create and maintain an inclusive community beyond the school. Lastly, different opinions and debates in terms of understanding inclusive education are also discussed in this report. In sum, a range of policies and practices of anti-discrimination and promotion of openness to all cultural groups in Scottish education have been implemented during the past decade or more. This is the policy and curriculum context in which the research with BBC and white Scottish children has taken place.

The thesis has explored cultural variation in influencing children's perspectives about their social identity. It revealed that ethnic minority groups of children are influenced by their ethnic culture and national social contexts. BBC children showed positive self-esteem which literature indicates is related to social acceptance by the mainstream society, recognition of cultural diversity and cultural identity. Research evidence has shown that multiculturalism has positive impacts on ethnic group identification and intergroup relations between ethnic majority and ethnic minority groups of children (Verkuyten, 2005). The existence of multiculturalism is associated with various outcomes. Multi-cultural acceptance is recognized to be important to education processes (Banks & Banks, 1995). Developmental research has shown the positive interaction between multiculturalism and strong ethnic identity (Seaton, Scottham, & Sellers, 2006; Yip, Seaton, & Sellers, 2006).

The thesis research findings suggest that BBC children as an ethnic minority group in Scotland, exhibit a very positive state of belonging: they showed evidence of integrated social identity with high levels of self-esteem, positive feelings towards their in-group with no out-group hostility; and a dual and flexible identity. Furthermore, white Scottish children were positive towards BBC children and understood their point of view, as shown in study 3. This seems to show successful multiculturalism. However, it is not possible to conclude from this that policy and practice on multiculturalism and inclusion in Scotland or the UK is fully effective.

Although the findings for BBC children in the study cannot be applied to other British born ethnic groups, it can be generalized to BBC children in Scotland. Future research would need to be done with other British born ethnic groups to explore this further.

#### **7.4 Limitations and suggestions for future research**

The present study was limited in several ways. The first limitation is the small sample size. A total of 148 Mainland Chinese, 155 Hong Kong Chinese, 91 white Scottish and 70 BBC children participated. This was a reasonable sample size for the ethnic group comparisons, however, because the sample sizes were reduced to explore the developmental aspects, this limited the scope for statistical analysis. In addition, unequal sample sizes for different groups posed some challenge to statistical analysis. Given the preliminary nature of the present study, it would be useful in future research to have larger and more balanced sample sizes of participants.

The other limitation in terms of sample recruitment concerns the issue of representativeness. The study with Mainland Chinese children in Chong Qing city only recruited the children who were living with their parents in the suburbs, in part because those children's parents could complete the consent forms more easily than children's parents who lived in rural areas and could only see their children once a month. "Left-behind children" were also excluded because their parents are not at home. "Left-behind children" in China are those whose parents have moved across China to work and left their children at home with grandparents or relatives. Thus, the present study was limited to children who are living in urban areas with average or above average family background. Future studies would benefit from having a child sample from different regions of China and also from both rural and urban areas.

It is also important to note that there are some limitations in the process of design and data collection. One limitation is that different ethnic groups of children used different language versions of the questionnaire (Study 1). BBC children and white

Scottish children used the original copy of the questionnaire: the English version. Mainland Chinese children and Hong Kong Chinese children used translated versions: simplified Chinese and traditional Chinese respectively. Simplified Chinese was translated by the researcher (native Mandarin speaker) and traditional Chinese was translated by a Hong Kong native speaker colleague. The back translation was conducted by another two native speaker academic colleagues. The validity of the translated questionnaires was tested before use. Although these precautions were taken, difference in understanding across the groups may nevertheless have occurred.

In terms of limitations in research procedure, BBC children were recruited in different ways, compared to the other cultural groups: 33% of BBC children were recruited through mainstream schools in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Dunblane, and 67% were recruited via Chinese communities, including Chinese schools, Chinese churches and Chinese cultural clubs. In contrast, all the other cohorts of children were consistently recruited through schools and took part in the research in the school settings. This variation in the social settings where the research was conducted was necessary because the population of BBC in Scotland is small. However, although recruiting the sample in different ways increased the participating number through, it might have influenced participants' responses. Future research would benefit from conducting the research with all the children in the same social settings in order to reduce the various factors that might influence their decision making. The other limitation is that the researcher was Chinese. Therefore, the awareness of the ethnicity of the researcher could have influenced children's responses in terms of rating Chinese and Scottish groups (particularly in study 2). In the current study, it was not possible to have researchers of different ethnicities. However, the possible consequences for methodologies, results and interpretations should be considered and recommended for any future study.

From the perspective of methodological consideration, one of the original contributions of this study is designing identity vignettes to examine both ethnic majority children's (white Scottish) and ethnic minority children's (BBC)

judgments towards the vignette characters' (ethnic Chinese child) ethnic identity, national identity and feelings of positivity in five contrasted social contexts. The identity vignettes were designed for presenting to children in one-to-one interviews. Precise interview protocol was designed, a sequence of questions was posed to determine children's responses to each vignette, and specific forms were used to record children's answers. There were several advantages of applying identity vignettes in the current study. Firstly, analysis of the data revealed an interesting set of findings concerning majority and minority groups of children's judgements towards ethnic minority child's ethnic identity, national identity and feelings of positivity in different social settings. It also revealed age trends in the children's evaluations of ethnic/ national identity from the different social contexts. These experimental findings enrich SIT (Tajfel, 1978) and developmental theories of social identity: SIDT (Nesdale, 2004, 2008) and CDT (Aboud, 1988, 2008). Secondly, unlike past methods which have evaluated children's group preferences in the same social context (Barrett et al., 1998), the identity vignettes examine the children's judgment of social identity and feeling of positivity within specific cultural tailored situations. They helped to stimulate the participants' knowledge, attitudes or opinions to what happened in different social situations. Thirdly, from the practical perspective, each pair of identity vignettes contained coordinated scenes and a carefully worded storyline to help children understand the social context. Through engaging with the identity vignettes, children could understand and respond to the questions very well.

There are, however, a few limitations of using identity vignettes in the present study. Firstly, because of the small sample size, it is hard to establish their reliability. Secondly, because of the nature of the vignettes questions, non-parametric statistics were applied to analyse the vignettes, which to some extent reduced the power of the analysis. Although the idea of designing the vignettes was to explore the attitudes of children towards their identity rather than measure identity on a standardized scale, it is nevertheless worth improving the identity vignette method by recruiting a large sample size in order to confirm the reliability of the measure. In addition, the current identity vignettes are measurements

culturally tailored to examine Chinese and Scottish culture. The method worked very well with BBC children in terms of the practical application. Future research would benefit from establishing valid standardized identity vignettes which could be used to examine a variety of ethnic groups of children.

The current results suggest that culture plays a role in shaping children's social identity and social context influences children's ethnic identity and national identity. However, developmental changes of children's ethnic identity were not obviously evidenced. The results differ from those to be expected from CDT (Aboud, 1998, 2008) and SIDT (Nesdale, 2004, 2008) which predicted age related decline in intergroup bias. There are some possible reasons for this. One is the small sample size in each age group of ethnic group. Another is that the cognitive developmental account cannot explain the children's development of in-group/ out-group functioning in every culture and for all levels of social status. What we do not know, however, is whether a longitudinal approach to exploring children's development of their ethnic identity, national identity and intergroup attitudes would fit the model of CDT (Aboud, 1998, 2008) or SIDT (Nesdale, 2004, 2008). In reviewing a wide range of developmental studies of children's social identity and intergroup attitudes, it appears that no longitudinal approach has been undertaken. It would therefore be of value to explore children's development of ethnic and national identity by conducting the research with the same samples of children from middle childhood to early adolescence.

## **7.5 Conclusion**

Despite the above limitations, it is hoped that these three studies have provided a fresh cross-cultural perspective on Mainland Chinese, Hong Kong Chinese, BBC and white Scottish children's perception of themselves across ages 8, 11 and 14 years. This comparison has contributed to our understanding of BBC ethnic minority children's sense of belonging. Firstly, children from Chinese cultural backgrounds emphasized their collective identity more than white Scottish children and children from a white Scottish cultural background emphasized their individual identity more than those from Chinese cultures. However, individual identity was strongest in all

participant groups. Secondly, dual heritage BBC children showed an integrated identity which is influenced by ethnic culture and nationality and which changes with age. In contrast, white Scottish children have a singular and fixed identity which remains stable with age. Both groups of children show their preference to in-group members. Thirdly, BBC children's sense of belonging is closely related to the social context. Both BBC and white Scottish children judge that ethnic Chinese children would feel positive in both Chinese and Scottish social contexts. Considering social contexts from the parents' perspective, although they perceived their children as having greater language proficiency for English than Chinese, they reported supporting a similar level of exposure to the Scottish and Chinese cultures and to social affiliation for their BBC children.

Finally, it has been argued that developmental patterns of social identity vary with different cultural and social status. It is essential that the dominant theories of social identity should consider social and cultural factors in shaping children's understanding of themselves. This further understanding of how ethnic minority groups of children's perceive their identity and the society in which they live will help generate knowledge that can be used by policy makers and educational practitioners to reinforce inclusive and multicultural education. It is hoped that this thesis has gone some way towards enhancing our understanding of how different cultural and social experiences may have contributed to the construction of children's social identity, ethnic identity and national identity between an Eastern and Western cultures.

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# **APPENDIX A**

## **POSTERS USED FOR THE RESEARCH**

A1 Poster in English language

A2 Poster in Chinese language



## Social Identity and Self-Esteem among Chinese, British born Chinese and Scottish children



**Qian, Dai**

**E-mail:** [chineseinscotland@gmail.com](mailto:chineseinscotland@gmail.com)

**Tel:** +44 (0) 131 651 6140  
07403615254

### **Supervisors:**

**Dr. Joanne Williams**

**Email:** [Jo.Williams@ed.ac.uk](mailto:Jo.Williams@ed.ac.uk)

**Tel:** +44 (0) 131 651 6339

**Dr. Evelyn McGregor**

**Email:** [Evelyn.McGregor@ed.ac.uk](mailto:Evelyn.McGregor@ed.ac.uk)

**Tel:** +44 (0) 131 651 6339

### **Researcher:**

My name is Daisy, a PhD research student in Edinburgh University. I am interested in how children, especially ethnic minority children, think about their national identity and social identities in their development.

### **Research Introduction:**

The study will make comparisons of social identity and self esteem in Chinese, British born Chinese and Scottish children in age 8, 11, and 14 years old. It will be conducted by survey and interviews. It takes about 30 minutes to complete.

### **Research Questions:**

1. Will someone define my child?  
No. Information will be confidential.
2. If I change my mind?  
It is your choice, just need to let me know.

### **Research Contributions:**

1. In multicultural Society, ethnic minorities' voice should be heard.
2. Inclusive education should be important for every single child.

### **I sincerely invite :**

British born Chinese children

- born in the UK,
- age 8, 11, 14 years old,
- both parents from China, Hong Kong, or Macao to participate in this study.



## 中国儿童，英国出生的中国儿童以及苏格兰儿童的社会认知和自我认知



戴倩

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**Dr. Evelyn McGregor**

邮箱: [Evelyn.McGregor@ed.ac.uk](mailto:Evelyn.McGregor@ed.ac.uk)

电话: +44 (0) 131 651 6339

### 研究介绍:

本研究是一个跨文化的研究项目。意在研究中国儿童，在英国出生的中国儿童，和苏格兰儿童（年龄 **8**，**11**，**14**岁），在社会认知和自我认知方面的异同。研究设计以问卷和访问的形式进行，时间为**30**分钟。

### 研究者介绍:

您好！我是戴倩，英国爱丁堡大学教育学硕士，现为该校教育心理学博士生。研究兴趣：儿童成长发展的过程也是一个不断找寻自我的过程。而在英国出生的中国儿童从小面对两种文化的冲突，他们会怎样看待自己？

### 研究贡献一:

对个人而言，我们生活在一个多文化的社会背景下，怎样才能使少数族裔的儿童在融入主流社会的过程中对自己和社会有一个良好的认识。

### 研究贡献二:

对社会而言，我们提倡平等公平的社会制度，怎样才能确保让少数族裔的儿童享受到与其他儿童一样的公平素质教育。

### 请与我联系:

我真诚的邀请年龄为 **8**，**11**，**14**岁，在英国出生的华人子女，父母为中国及港澳台同胞参与到这个有意义的研究中来。



**APPENDIX B**

**INVITATION LETTERS TO SCHOOLS IN SCOTLAND, MAINLAND  
CHINA AND HONG KONG**

B1 Invitation letters to schools in Scotland

B2 Invitation letters to schools in China

B3 Invitation letters to schools in Hong Kong

## B1 Invitation letters to schools in Scotland



Dear head teacher

I am a PhD research student in Moray House School of Education, Edinburgh University. My research topic is "Social identity and self-esteem in British born Chinese, Chinese and British Children". My supervisors are Drs. Joanne Williams and Evelyn McGregor, both lecturers at the School of Education.

I am interested in the ways in which children whose parents are from China, but who are born in Scotland, develop their social identity in relation to their nationality and how this may be linked to self-esteem. I aim to explore this topic with children aged 8, 11 and 14 years using questionnaires and a selection task. I will be conducting the research with children in Scotland, Hong Kong and China.

I piloted this work last year with some children who attend a Chinese language school in Edinburgh. However, in order to have a sample that represents children of Chinese parentage across Scotland, I also need to involve children who are not attending special Chinese schools.

The Education Department of Edinburgh Council has kindly given me the contact details of your school as schools where children who are Chinese or have Chinese parents are attending. I am writing to ask you first of all if it would be possible for me to invite some of the pupils to take part in my research. If so, could you please let me know how many Chinese children attend the school, and what ages they are. I would also want to invite a similar number of Scottish children of Scottish parentage to take part in the study, as a comparison group, if possible.

I attach a poster of the study. I have Enhanced Disclosure. I would be very appreciative if you can help me in my research.

My supervisors' emails are [Evelyn.McGregor@ed.ac.uk](mailto:Evelyn.McGregor@ed.ac.uk) and [Jo.Williams@ed.ac.uk](mailto:Jo.Williams@ed.ac.uk) if you wish to contact them for any reason.

Best regards,

Dai Qian

Address: Room 1.04 Simon Laurie House  
The Moray House School of Education,  
The University of Edinburgh,  
St John's Land, Holyrood Road,  
Edinburgh EH8 8AQ

Tel: 01316516140

E-mail: [s0898324@sms.ed.ac.uk](mailto:s0898324@sms.ed.ac.uk)

## B2 Invitation letters to schools in China



尊敬的校长：

我是爱丁堡大学教育学院的博士生，我有意到贵校做博士论文的研究工作，希望能够得到您的支持。

本人的博士论文研究题目是：比较在中国，在香港，在英国的华裔儿童以及因果苏格兰儿童的社会认知和自我认知。本人的研究题目主要是分析在英国出生的英国华人儿童，从小在中西方两种文化背景下长大，他们如何看待自己和定义自己的社会身分。这个研究题目是一个跨文化的研究。我同时，比较了在中国大陆，香港，和英国儿童在社会认知和自我认知的异同

本研究对象为 8，11 和 14 岁的中国儿童和青少年。我希望能够邀请他们来完成一份调查问卷，所需时间为 25 分钟。为了不增加贵校老师的负担。如果学校允许，本研究员愿意亲自访问学校，辅导学生完成问卷。本人承诺参与者的个人资料以及问卷内容只为研究用途，绝对不会泄露出去。而所有的问卷都会以匿名的方式进行。如果有需要，本人可以提供在爱丁堡大学的在读证明，以及研究所用的问卷以供贵校参考。

如果有任何问题，请与本人联系。本人的邮件地址为：  
[daigian1111@hotmail.com](mailto:daigian1111@hotmail.com) 或者 [s0898324@sms.ed.ac.uk](mailto:s0898324@sms.ed.ac.uk)。非常感谢。

至此

敬礼

戴倩  
英国爱丁堡大学教育学院博士研究生

二零一一年一月三日

### B3 Invitation letters to schools in Hong Kong



敬啟者：

本人是英國愛丁堡大學教育學院的博士生，希望能得到閣下的批准及協助，於貴校校園內進行研究工作。

本人的博士論文題目是「中國兒童、英國兒童和在英國出生的中國兒童的社會認知和自我認知」。本人的研究課題主要是分析在英國出生的中國兒童，從小在中、西兩種文化背景成長之下，會如何看待、定義自己；同時，本人亦希望比較這些英國出生的中國兒童與香港、中國及英國兒童對自我認知和社會認知的異同。本人希望邀請香港兒童參與研究的原因有兩點：其一，在英國的很多華人是從香港移居到英國的，而他們的後代很多亦曾經到過香港，與香港的聯繫很緊密；其二，香港於1997年回歸中國前的英國殖民地背景，作為一特殊的歷史因素，無可否認令香港成為了融合中國與英國文化的地方；亦因此，香港兒童對西方社會的認識和接觸程度必然會和中國內地的兒童有所差距，並影響兩地兒童對社會和自我認知的結果。因此，本人認為香港兒童在本研究的參與實在必不可少。

本研究的對象為8, 11和14歲的香港兒童，希望邀請他們來完成一份問卷調查，所需時間約為25分鐘，因此並不會花貴校學生太多時間。為了不增加貴校老師的工作量，如果學校允許此研究請求，本人願意親自到訪學校，以輔助學生完成問卷。如有需要，本人承諾參與者的個人資料及問卷內容絕對不會被洩露，而所有問卷都會以匿名方式進行。如有需要，本人可以提供本人在愛丁堡大學的在學證明，或此研究所用的完整問卷供貴校參考。

本人將於稍後致候，閣下或貴校老師亦可隨時聯絡本人。本人之電郵地址為：[daigian\\_1111@hotmail.com](mailto:daigian_1111@hotmail.com)，或[s0898324@sms.ed.ac.uk](mailto:s0898324@sms.ed.ac.uk)。謝謝！

敬祝  
教安！

此致

戴倩 謹啟  
英國蘇格蘭愛丁堡大學教育學院博士研究生

二零一一年八月四日

## **APPENDIX C**

### **INFORMED CONSENT FORMS**

C1 Informed Consent Form to BBC Children's Parents

C2 Informed Consent Form to Scottish Children's Parents

C3 Informed Consent Form to Mainland Chinese Children's Parents

C4 Informed Consent Form to Hong Kong Chinese Children's Parents

## **Social Identity and Self-Esteem among Chinese, British born Chinese, and white British children**

Dear Parent or Guardian,

My name is Dai Qian (Daisy). I am conducting research on social identity and self-esteem among Chinese, British born Chinese and British children. I would like your permission to let your children to take part in my studies. I also wish to know family environment and parenting style influence children's development of social identity, so I am inviting you to take part.

### **What I would ask children to do?**

I would ask the children to fill in two questionnaires about social identity and self-esteem in their classroom and a card-sorting task.

### **What I would ask parents to do ?**

I would ask you to fill in a questionnaire about social identity, self-esteem, and ethnicity. The questionnaire is written in traditional Chinese, simplified Chinese and English. You can choose to answer any version of questionnaire. The questionnaire takes about 20 minutes to complete. To thank you for your precious time in answering the questionnaire, £5 pounds Marks & Spencer gift voucher will be given.

### **Will people who see the research be able to identify my child or me?**

No. Your children and your questionnaires have no names, and any names and locations parents mention in interviews will be changed. Any information you give as part of this research will be strictly confidential. The only reason that I would tell someone else what parents said is if they told me that they or their children are at risk of significant harm. Then I would support them to seek help.

### **How will the research be used?**

The study will make cross culture comparisons of social identity and self-esteem in different ethnic groups of children. This research will be used as part of my PhD thesis and publications. All questionnaires, tapes and notes will be erased as soon as they are no longer being used for academic purpose.

### **What happens if I agree to take part and then I change my mind?**

It is up to you and you can change your mind at any point. If you or your child agrees to take part, then change your mind, even if you and your children have begun, you and your children are free to leave the study at any time.

### **Contact information**

If you wish to ask any questions before deciding to take part please contact my supervisors:

Dr. Joanne M Williams    Telephone: 0 131 651 6339    Email: Jo.Williams@ed.ac.uk

Dr. Evelyn McGregor    Telephone: 0131 651 7341    Email: evelyn.mcgregor@ed.ac.uk

## CONSENT FORM

PLEASE CIRCLE YOUR ANSWER (YES OR NO) TO THE QUESTION BELOW

I agree to let my children take part in this project.      YES      NO

*I would appreciate if you could fill the following basic information about you:*

*Your Name:* .....

*Children's Name:* .....

*Gender: F / M (circle one)*

*Ethnicity:* .....

*Job Position:* .....

*Education Level: 1) School Qualifications,    2) Diploma of Higher Education,  
3) Degree (e.g. BA, BSc),    4) Higher Degree (e.g. PhD, MSc)*

*If you would like me to send you a mini report please gives your contact information:*

*Address:* .....

*E mail:* .....

*Telephone:* .....

*My Signature:* .....      *Date:* .....

*Thank you for agreeing to take part in this project.*

***Student's Signature***

***Date***

## **Social Identity and Self-Esteem among Chinese, British born Chinese, and white British children**

Dear Parent or Guardian,

My name is Dai Qian (Daisy). I am conducting a research project on social identity and self-esteem among Chinese, British born Chinese and British children. I would like your permission for your child (or children) to take part in my study.

### **What would I ask your child (or children) to do ?**

I would ask the each child to fill in two questionnaires about social identity and self-esteem in their classroom. Then I would ask them to do a separate task on their own with me, to hear their ideas about their identity.

### **Will people who see the research be able to identify my child?**

Children's questionnaires will be anonymous. Any information you child gives us as part of this research will be strictly confidential. The only reason that I would tell someone else what a child said to me during the research is if they told me that they are at risk of significant harm. Then I would support them to seek help.

### **How will the research be used?**

The study will make cross cultural comparisons of social identity and self-esteem in different ethnic groups of children. This research will be used as part of my PhD thesis and publications. All questionnaires and notes will be erased as soon as they are no longer being used for academic purpose.

### **What happens if I agree to take part and then I change my mind?**

It is up to you and you can change your mind at any point. If you or your child agrees to take part, then change your mind, even if your child has begun, he/she is free to leave the study at any time.

### **Contact information**

If you wish to ask any questions before deciding to take part please contact my supervisors:

Dr. Joanne M Williams Telephone: 0 131 651 6339 Email: Jo.Williams@ed.ac.uk

Dr. Evelyn McGregor Telephone: 0131 651 7341 Email: evelyn.mcgregor@ed.ac.uk



## CONSENT FORM

PLEASE CIRCLE YOUR ANSWER (YES OR NO) TO THE QUESTION BELOW

I agree to let my child (or children) take part in this research. YES NO

*I would appreciate if you could fill the following basic information about you:*

*Your Name:* .....

Children's Name:.....

*Gender: F / M (circle one)*

*Ethnicity:* .....

*Job Position:* .....

*Education Level: 1) School Qualifications, 2) Diploma of Higher Education,  
3) Degree (e.g. BA, BSc), 4) Higher Degree (e.g. PhD, MSc)*

*If you would like me to send you a mini report about the finished research please give me your E-mail address:*

*E mail:*.....

*My Signature:*..... *Date:* .....

*Thank you for agreeing to take part in this project.*

*Student's Signature*

Date \_\_\_\_\_

## 关于中国儿童，在英国出生的中国儿童和英国儿童的社会认知和自我认知

亲爱的家长

我的名字叫戴倩。我是爱丁堡大学教育学院的博士研究生。我现在研究的课题是关于中国儿童，在英国出生的中国儿童和英国儿童的社会认知和自我认知。我希望能够得到您的同意让您的小孩参与我的研究。

### 我会请您的小孩做什么？

我希望您的小孩能够完成两份关于社会认知的自我认知的问卷。问卷的时间在学校。所需时间约 15-20 分钟。

### 您自己和您小孩的资料会泄露出去吗？

绝对不会。您小孩和您的问卷都会以匿名的方式出现。在该访谈内容中可能披露您身份的名字，地点也会用其他名字代替。我们会为您提供的所有资料保密。

### 我们研究的用途是什么呢？

这个研究是一个关于儿童社会认知和自我认知的跨文化比较研究。研究会用于我的博士论文和期刊发表上。所有的问卷，磁带和笔记在被用于学术用途后都会被删除。

### 如果我决定参加后又改变的主意该怎么办？

这完全由您来决定。你或者您的小孩如果想临时退出，你只需要告诉我。

### 联系方式

如果您有什么问题，您可以联系我的导师或者我

戴倩 电话：0131 651 6140 邮箱：[daiqian\\_1111@hotmail.com](mailto:daiqian_1111@hotmail.com)

Dr. Jo. M Williams 电话：0131 651 6339 邮箱：[Jo.Williams@ed.ac.uk](mailto:Jo.Williams@ed.ac.uk)

Dr. Evelyn McGregor 电话：0131 651 7341 邮箱：[evelyn.mcgregor@ed.ac.uk](mailto:evelyn.mcgregor@ed.ac.uk)

# 同意书

请在下面的选项中选 **是** 或者 **不是**。

我同意参与此实验。	是      不是
-----------	-----------

我非常感激如果您能完成以下的基本信息：

姓名： ..... 性别； 男/女（请选择）

您小孩姓名： .....

种族： .....

教育程度： 1) 小学，    2) 初中    3) 高中    4) 大学

职业： .....

请提供您的联系方式：

地址： .....

电话号码: ..... 邮箱: .....

**签名：** ..... **日期：** .....

非常感谢您能够参与我的实验。

研究者签名：

日期：



## 同意書

親愛的家長,

我的名字叫做戴倩。我是愛丁堡大學教育學院的在讀博士。我研究題目是「中國兒童，香港兒童，在中國出生的英國兒童和英國兒童的社會認知」。這個研究課題主要是分析在英國出生的中國兒童，從小在中、西兩種文化背景成長之下，會如何看待和定義自己；同時，本人也希望比較英國出生中國兒童與香港、中國大陸以及英國兒童對自我認知和社會認同的異同。這是一個跨文化的比較研究。因此，我希望您能夠允許您的小孩參與我的問卷調查。

### 我期望你的小孩做什麼：

如果能夠得到您的同意，你的小孩會在學校裏完成一份關於社會認知和自我認知的問卷（20分鐘可以完成）。

### 其他人在看我的研究的成果的時候會認出是你的小孩嗎？

絕對不會。所有的問卷都會以匿名的方式呈現在我的研究中，而所提供的資訊都會絕對保密。能夠看到這個問卷的人只有我和我的兩位導師。

### 我的研究會用於什麼？

這個研究會用於博士論文，也可能成為期刊發表物。所有的問卷在不用於學術用途後，都會被銷毀。

### 如果我同意參加又改變主意之後怎麼辦？

這完全由你自願決定。如果你小孩在回答問卷的過程中，不想再繼續參與，他是可以隨時離開的，只要告訴我就可以了。

### 聯繫方式

如果你有任何疑問，歡迎與我聯繫。

戴倩 郵箱：[s0898324@ed.ac.uk](mailto:s0898324@ed.ac.uk) [daigian\\_1111@hotmail.com](mailto:daigian_1111@hotmail.com)

我同意我的小孩參與這個問卷調查。	同意	不同意
------------------	----	-----

**我非常感謝你同意你的小孩參與我的問卷調查。**

簽名..... 日期.....

**APPENDIX D**  
**QUESTIONNAIRES OF CHILDREN IN STUDY 1**

D1 Questionnaire of Children in English (for Scottish and BBC children)

D2 Questionnaire of Children in simplified Chinese (for Mainland Chinese children)

D3 Questionnaire of Children in traditional Chinese (for Hong Kong Chinese children)



# **SOCIAL IDENTITY AND SELF ESTEEM OF CHINESE, BRITISH BORN CHINESE AND BRITISH CHILDREN**

## **Child & Adolescence's Questionnaire**

**Name:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Age:** \_\_\_\_\_

**School:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Date of Birth:** \_\_\_\_\_

**February, 2012**

Please write down the words you use to describe yourself

Who Am I?

1) I am \_\_\_\_\_

2) I am \_\_\_\_\_

3) I am \_\_\_\_\_

4) I am \_\_\_\_\_

5) I am \_\_\_\_\_

6) I am \_\_\_\_\_

7) I am \_\_\_\_\_

8) I am \_\_\_\_\_

9) I am \_\_\_\_\_

10) I am \_\_\_\_\_

Please Circle One which is most important? Tell me why?

Please Circle one which is the second most important? Tell me why?

Can you tell me who do you compare yourself to in general? Tell me why?

## WHAT I AM LIKE

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Age \_\_\_\_\_ Birthday \_\_\_\_\_ Class \_\_\_\_\_  
 Boy or Girl(Please Circle) Day Month

### EXAMPLE

\* ONLY TICK ONE BOX IN ONE ROW!!!

	Really True for me	Sort of True for me			Sort of True for me	Really True for me
(a)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Some kids would rather play outside in their spare time	BUT	Other kids would rather watch T.V.	<input type="checkbox"/>
1.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids feel they are very good at their school work	BUT	Other kids worry about whether they can do their school work	<input type="checkbox"/>
2.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids find it hard to make friends	BUT	Other kids find it's pretty easy to make friends	<input type="checkbox"/>
3.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids do very well at all kinds of sports	BUT	Other kids don't feel they are good when it comes to sports	<input type="checkbox"/>
4.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids are happy with the way they look	BUT	Other kids are not happy with the way they look	<input type="checkbox"/>
5.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids often do not like the way they behave	BUT	Other kids usually like the way they behave	<input type="checkbox"/>
6.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids are often unhappy with themselves	BUT	Other kids are pretty pleased with themselves	<input type="checkbox"/>
7.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids feel they are just as clever as other kids	BUT	Other kids aren't so sure and wonder if they are as clever	<input type="checkbox"/>
8.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids have a lot of friends	BUT	Other kids don't have very many friends	<input type="checkbox"/>



	Really True for me	Sort of True for me			Sort of True for me	Really True for me
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids wish they could be a lot better at sports	BUT	Other kids feel they are good enough at sports	<input type="checkbox"/>
10.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids are happy with their height or weight	BUT	Other kids wish their height or weight was different	<input type="checkbox"/>
11.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids usually do the right thing	BUT	Other kids often don't do the right thing	<input type="checkbox"/>
12.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids don't like the way they are leading their life	BUT	Other kids do like the way they are leading their life	<input type="checkbox"/>
13.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids are pretty slow in finishing their school work	BUT	Other kids can do their school work quickly	<input type="checkbox"/>
14.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids would like to have a lot more friends	BUT	Other kids have as many friends as they want	<input type="checkbox"/>
15.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids think they could do well at any new sport	BUT	Other kids are afraid they do not do well at new sports	<input type="checkbox"/>
16.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids wish their body was different	BUT	Other kids like their body the way it is	<input type="checkbox"/>
17.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids usually behave the way they know they're supposed to	BUT	Other kids often don't behave the way they're supposed to	<input type="checkbox"/>
18.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids are happy with themselves as a person	BUT	Other kids are often not happy with themselves	<input type="checkbox"/>
19.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids often forget what they learn	BUT	Other kids can remember things easily	<input type="checkbox"/>
20.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids are always doing things with a lot of kids	BUT	Other kids usually do things by themselves	<input type="checkbox"/>

	Really True for me	Sort of True for me				Sort of True for me	Really True for me
21.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids feel they are better at sports than their friends	BUT	Other kids don't feel they can play as well	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids wish they looked different	BUT	Other kids like the way they look	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
23.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids usually get in trouble because of things they do	BUT	Other kids don't do things that get them into trouble	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
24.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids like the kind of person they are	BUT	Other kids often wish they were someone else	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
25.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids do very well at their classwork	BUT	Other kids don't do very well at their classwork	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
26.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids wish more people their own age liked them	BUT	Other kids feel that most people their own age do like them	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
27.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	In games and sports some kids usually watch instead of play	BUT	Other kids usually play rather than just watch	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
28.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids wish something about their face or hair was different	BUT	Other kids like their face and hair the way they are	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
29.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids do things they know they shouldn't do	BUT	Other kids hardly ever do things they know they shouldn't do	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
30.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids are very happy being the way they are	BUT	Other kids wish they were different	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
31.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids have trouble working out the answers in school	BUT	Other kids almost always can work out the answers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
32.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids are popular with others their own age	BUT	Other kids are not very popular	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	Really True for me	Sort of True for me				Sort of True for me	Really True for me
33.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids don't do well at new outdoor games	BUT	Other kids are good at new games right away	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
34.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids think that they are good looking	BUT	Other kids think that they are not very good looking	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
35.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids behave themselves very well	BUT	Other kids often find it hard to behave themselves	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
36.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some kids are not happy with the way they do a lot of things	BUT	Other kids think the way they do things is fine	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP



# 说一说你对自己的想法

## 儿童/青少年问卷调查

姓名: \_\_\_\_\_

年龄: \_\_\_\_\_

性别: 男/女

出生日期: \_\_\_\_\_

二零一一年 八月

## 请写下形容你自己的词语

我是谁？

- 1) 我是\_\_\_\_\_
- 2) 我是\_\_\_\_\_
- 3) 我是\_\_\_\_\_
- 4) 我是\_\_\_\_\_
- 5) 我是\_\_\_\_\_
- 6) 我是\_\_\_\_\_
- 7) 我是\_\_\_\_\_
- 8) 我是\_\_\_\_\_
- 9) 我是\_\_\_\_\_
- 10) 我是\_\_\_\_\_

请选出以上选项中最最重要的一个（写下编号）？并告知原因？

请选出第二重要的一个（写下编号）？并告知原因？

你通常都都会把你和谁拿来做比较？你能说说为什么吗？

请在适合你的选项里打勾（✓）。 请注意每道题四个选项中您只能选一个选项。

例如

	确实 是我	类似 是我		但是		类似 是我	确实 是我
(a)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	有些孩子喜欢 课余时间在外 玩耍		其他孩子喜欢 看电视	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子觉得他 们很擅长自己的 课业	但是	其他孩子担心他 们是否能完成课 业	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子交友有 困难	但是	其他孩子觉得交 朋友很容易	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子擅长做 各种体育运动	但是	涉及体育运动 的时候，其他孩子 不觉得他们能做 得很好	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子对他们 的外貌很满意	但是	其他孩子对他们 的外貌不是很满 意	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子经常对 自己的举止感到 不满	但是	其他孩子常常对 自己的举止感到 满意	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子对自己 感到不高兴	但是	其他孩子对自己 感到很满意	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子认为自己 和别的孩子一 样聪明	但是	其他孩子对此不 确定并且想知道 自己是不是和别 的孩子一样聪明	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子有很多 朋友	但是	其他孩子朋友不 多	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子希望自 己更擅长体育运 动	但是	其他孩子认为自 己已经很擅长体 育运动	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子对自己 的身高体重感到 满意	但是	其他孩子希望自 己的身高或者体 重与现在不同	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子常常做 对的事情	但是	其他孩子不经常 做对的事情	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子不喜欢 现在的生活方式	但是	其他孩子喜欢现 在的生活方式	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子完成作 业很慢	但是	其他孩子能很快 完成作业	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些还想想结交 更多的朋友	但是	其他孩子觉得自 己已经拥有足够 的朋友	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子认为他 们能胜任任何新 的体育运动	但是	其他孩子害怕自 己不能胜任新的 体育运动	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子希望那 个自己的身体与 现在不同	但是	其他孩子喜欢自 己现在的身体	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

17	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子常常举止得体	但是	其他孩子经常不按照应该的举止行为	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子对自己感到高兴	但是	其他孩子经常对自己感到不高兴	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子经常忘记学过的东西	但是	其他孩子记忆力很好	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子总是和很多孩子一起做事情	但是	其他孩子通常自己做事情	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
21	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子感觉自己比别人更擅长体育运动	但是	其他孩子不认为自己能够玩的和别人一样好	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子希望自己看起来不一样	但是	其他孩子喜欢自己的长相	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
23	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子总是会做一些惹麻烦的事情	但是	其他孩子不做会给自己惹麻烦的事情	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
24	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子喜欢自己这样的人	但是	其他孩子经常希望自己是别人	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
25	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子作业做得很好	但是	其他孩子作业做得不好	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
26	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子希望更多的同龄人喜欢自己	但是	其他孩子感觉大多数同龄人喜欢自己	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
27	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	在游戏和体育运动中，一些孩子选择观看而不是参与	但是	其他孩子更愿意参与而不是观看	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



28	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子希望自己的脸或者头发能有些不同	但是	其他孩子喜欢自己的脸和头发本来的样子	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
29	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子做他们知道不该做的事情	但是	其他孩子基本不会做他们知道不该做的事情	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
30	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子对自己现状很满意	但是	其他孩子希望与自己与现在不同	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
31	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子完成学校作业有问题	但是	其他学生几乎总是能完成	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
32	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子在同龄人中很受欢迎	但是	其他孩子不怎么受欢迎	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
33	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子不擅长新的户外运动	但是	其他孩子能很快就能适应户外运动	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
34	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子认为自己长得很好看	但是	其他孩子认为自己长得不怎么好看	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
35	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子能够很好的表现自己	但是	其他孩子经常发现自己很难表现出本来的自己	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
36	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子对自己做很多事的方式感到不满	但是	其他孩子认为自己做的方式还好	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

D3 Questionnaire of Children in traditional Chinese (for Hong Kong Chinese children)



說一說你對自己的想法

兒童/青少年問卷調查

姓名: \_\_\_\_\_

年齡: \_\_\_\_\_

性別: 男/女

出生日期: \_\_\_\_\_

二零一一年九月

## 請寫下形容你自己的詞語

我是誰？

- 1) 我是\_\_\_\_\_
- 2) 我是\_\_\_\_\_
- 3) 我是\_\_\_\_\_
- 4) 我是\_\_\_\_\_
- 5) 我是\_\_\_\_\_
- 6) 我是\_\_\_\_\_
- 7) 我是\_\_\_\_\_
- 8) 我是\_\_\_\_\_
- 9) 我是\_\_\_\_\_
- 10) 我是\_\_\_\_\_

請選出以上選項中最重要的一個（寫下編號）？並告知原因。

請選出第二重要的一個（寫下編號）？並告知原因。

你通常都會把你和誰拿來做比較？你能說說為什麼嗎？

請在適合你的選項裏打勾（✓）。請注意每道題的四個選項中您只能選一個選項。

例如

	確實 是我	類似 是我				類似 是我	確實 是我
(a)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	有些孩子喜歡 課餘時間在外 玩耍	但是	其他孩子喜歡 看電視	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子覺得他 們很擅長自己的 課業	但是	其他孩子擔心他 們是否能完成課 業	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子交友有 困難	但是	其他孩子覺得交 朋友很容易	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子擅長做 各種體育運動	但是	涉及體育運動的 時候，其他孩子 不覺得他們能做 得很好	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子對他們 的外貌很滿意	但是	其他孩子對他們 的外貌不是很滿 意	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子經常對 自己的舉止感到 不滿	但是	其他孩子常常對 自己的舉止感到 滿意	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子對自己 感到不高興	但是	其他孩子對自己 感到很滿意	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子認為自己和別的孩子一樣聰明	但是	其他孩子對此不確定並且想知道自己是不是和別的孩子一樣聰明	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子有很多朋友	但是	其他孩子朋友不多	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子希望自己更擅長體育運動	但是	其他孩子認為自己已經很擅長體育運動	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子對自己的身高體重感到滿意	但是	其他孩子希望自己的身高或者體重與現在不同	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子常常做對的事情	但是	其他孩子不經常做對的事情	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子不喜歡現在的生活方式	但是	其他孩子喜歡現在的生活方式	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子完成作業很慢	但是	其他孩子能很快完成作業	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子還想結交更多的朋友	但是	其他孩子覺得自己已經擁有足夠的朋友	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子認為他們能勝任任何新的體育運動	但是	其他孩子害怕自己不能勝任新的體育運動	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子希望那個自己的身體與現在不同	但是	其他孩子喜歡自己現在的身體	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

17	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子常常舉止得體	但是	其他孩子經常不按照應該的舉止行為	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子對自己感到高興	但是	其他孩子經常對自己感到不高興	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子經常忘記學過的東西	但是	其他孩子記憶力很好	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子總是和很多孩子一起做事情	但是	其他孩子通常自己做事情	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
21	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子感覺自己比別人更擅長體育運動	但是	其他孩子不認為自己能夠玩的和別人一樣好	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子希望自己看起來不一樣	但是	其他孩子喜歡自己的長相	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
23	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子總是會做一些惹麻煩的事情	但是	其他孩子不做會給自己惹麻煩的事情	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
24	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子喜歡自己這樣的人	但是	其他孩子經常希望自己是別人	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
25	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子作業做得很好	但是	其他孩子作業做得不好	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
26	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子希望更多的同齡人喜歡自己	但是	其他孩子感覺大多數同齡人喜歡自己	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
27	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	在遊戲和體育運動中，一些孩子	但是	其他孩子更願意參與而不是觀看	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

選擇觀看而不是  
參與

28	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子希望自己的臉或者頭髮能有些不同	但是	其他孩子喜歡自己的臉和頭髮本來的樣子	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
29	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子做他們知道不該做的事情	但是	其他孩子基本不會做他們知道不該做的事情	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
30	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子對自己現狀很滿意	但是	其他孩子希望自己與現在不同	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
31	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子完成學校作業有問題	但是	其他學生幾乎總是能完成	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
32	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子在同齡人中很受歡迎	但是	其他孩子不怎麼受歡迎	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
33	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子不擅長新的戶外運動	但是	其他孩子能很快就能適應戶外運動	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
34	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子認為自己長得很好看	但是	其他孩子認為自己長得不怎麼好看	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
35	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子能夠很好的表現自己	但是	其他孩子經常發現自己很難表現出本來的自己	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
36	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	一些孩子對自己 做很多事的方式 感到不滿	但是	其他孩子認為自己 做事的方式還 好	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

多謝！

## **APPENDIX E**

### **CARD-SORTING TASKS IN STUDY 2**

E1. Card-sorting tasks instructions (including 3 tasks)

E2. Photographs and Drawings used in task 2

E3. Photographs and Drawings used in task 3



## E1. Experimental Tasks instructions (including 3 tasks)

### Task1: To measure children's self-categorisations

- *If you were in Scotland and someone asked you "where are you from?", what would you say?*
- *If you were in China and someone asked you "where are you from?", what would you say?*
- *If you were in America and someone asked you "where are you from?", what would you say?*

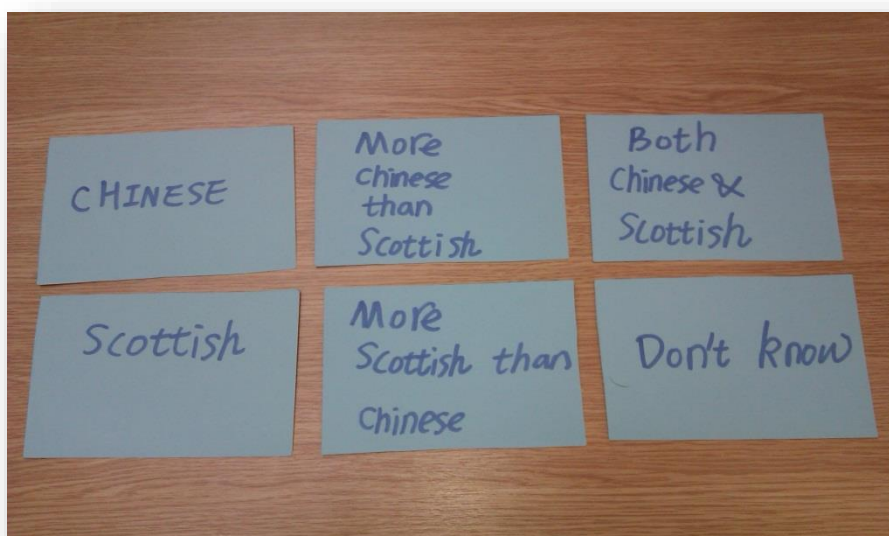
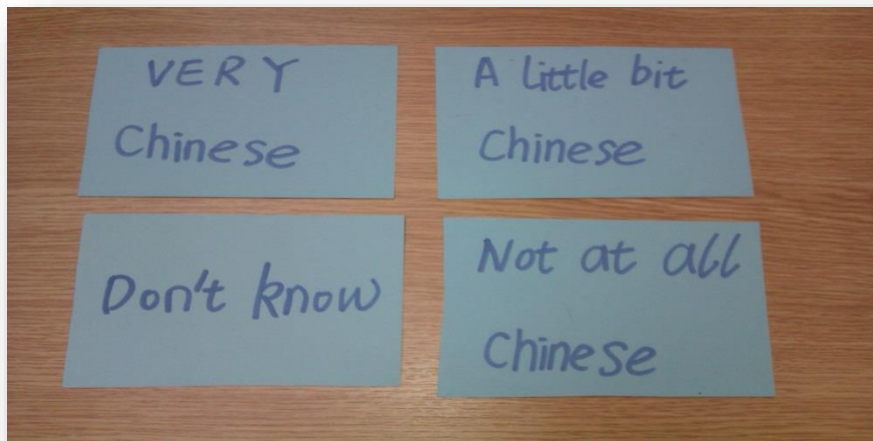
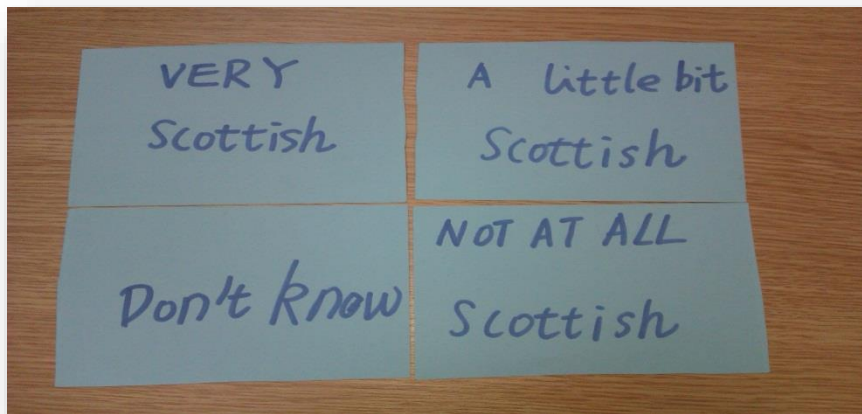
### Task 2: To measure national identifications

- The first set of four cards concerned Scottish identification. The cards contained the following text: *very Scottish, a little bit Scottish, not at all Scottish, don't know*. The child was then asked: *which one of these cards do you think best describe you?* The child's choice was recorded.
- The second set of four cards concerned Chinese identification and contained the following text: *very Chinese, a little bit Chinese, not at all Chinese, don't know*. The child was then asked: *which one of these cards do you think best describe you?* The child's choice was recorded.
- The third set of six cards contained the following text: *Chinese, more Chinese than Scottish, both Chinese and Scottish, more Scottish than Chinese, Scottish, don't know*. The child was then asked: *which one of these cards do you think best describe you?* The child's choice was recorded.

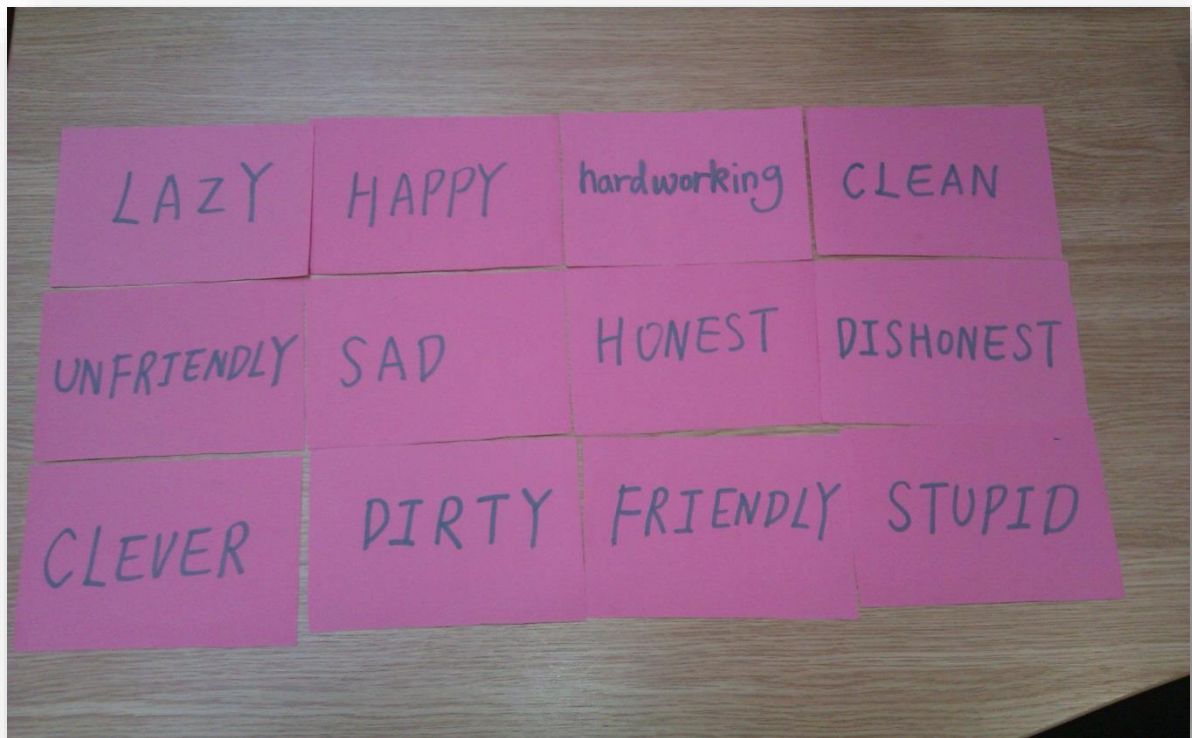
### Task 3: To evaluate the feeling about the members of the national in group and selected national out groups

- The children were first presented with a set of 12 cards, each of which contained one of the following terms: *clean, dirty, friendly, unfriendly, clever, stupid, hardworking, lazy, happy, sad, honest, and dishonest*. The cards were presented in a different randomised order to each child. The child was then asked: *Here are some cards with words on them that can be used to describe people. So, we can say that some people are...(word written on first card; first card the removed and second one shown to child). And some people are...(word written on second card). Right? Now, what I want you to do is go through all these words one by one, and I want you to sort out those words which you think can be used to describe Chinese people. Can you do that for me please? Sort out the words which you think describe Scottish people.*
- After completing the adjective sorting task, the child was asked: *Now, I just want to ask you one more thing about Chinese people. Do you like or dislike Chinese people?* If the child said that he/she liked or disliked the group, the interviewer spread out on the table a set of cards containing the words: *dislike a lot, dislike a little, don't know, like a little, like a lot*. The child was then asked: *And how much do you like/dislike them? Choose your answer from these cards*. The procedure was repeated for Scottish people.

E2. Photographs and Drawings used in task 2



E3. Photographs and Drawings of task 3



## **APPENDIX F**

### **CHILDREN AND PARENTS MEASUREMENTS IN STUDY 3**

F1 Identity Vignettes Study

F2 Pictures used in Identity Vignettes

F3 Adopted General Ethnicity Questionnaire for BBC Parents

F4 Background Interview Questions to BBC Parents

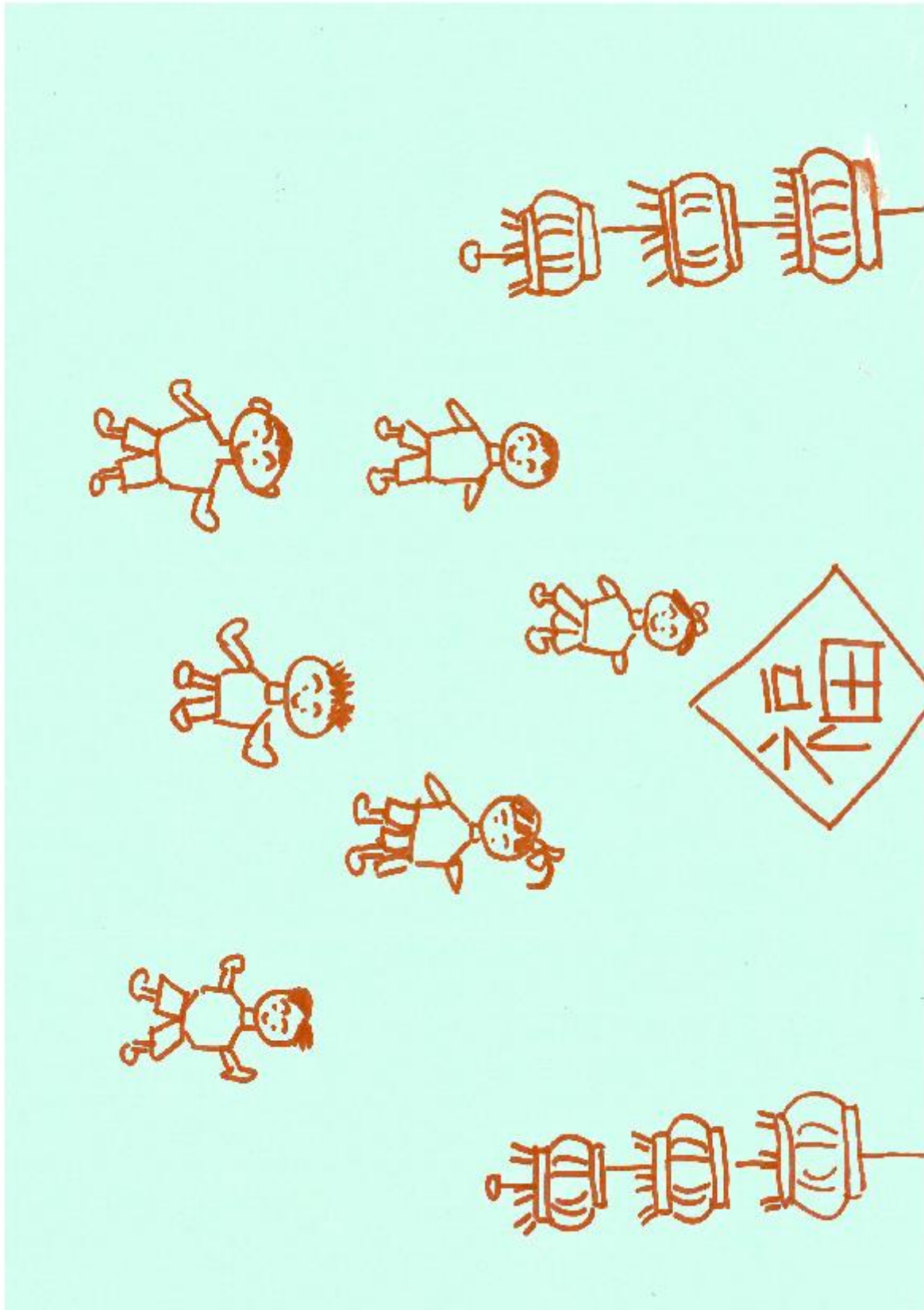
## F1 Identity Vignettes Study

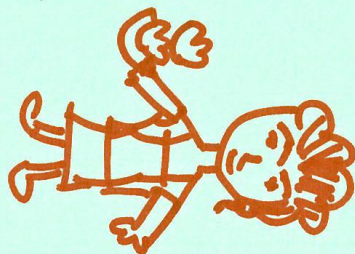
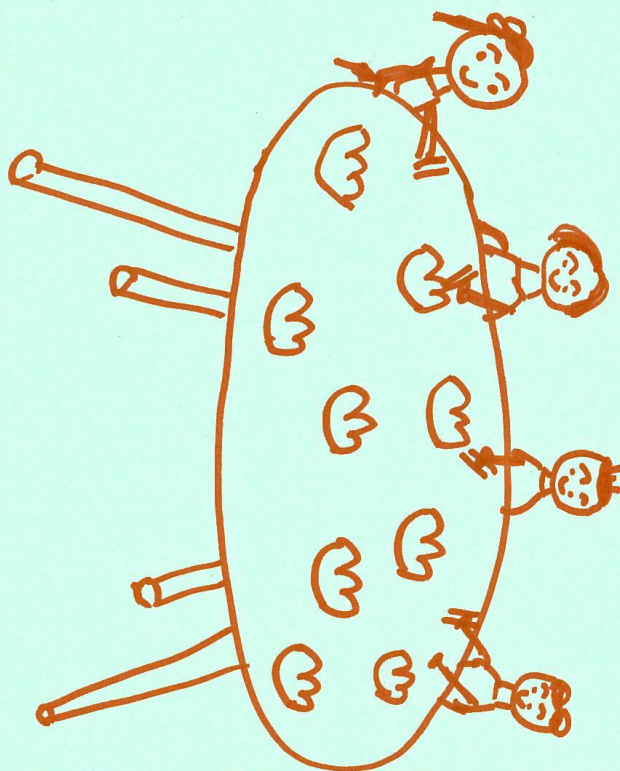
1. Chen Yin was born in Scotland but her parents come from China. Chen Yin was invited by her Chinese friends to go to Chinese New Year together.
  - How Chinese will Chen Yin feel?  
Very much Chinese                      quite Chinese                      not at all Chinese
  - How Scottish will Chen Yin feel?  
Very much Scottish                      quite Scottish                      not at all Scottish
  - How would she feel about herself at that time?  
Good      OK                      not good
2. Fang Fang was born in Scotland but her parents come from China. She invited her Scottish friends to her home and her mother cooked Chinese dumplings for them.
  - How Chinese would Fang Fang feel?  
Very much Chinese                      Quite Chinese                      not at all Chinese
  - How Scottish would Fang Fang feel?  
Very much Scottish                      Quite Scottish                      not at all Scottish
  - How would she feel about herself at that time?  
Good      OK                      not good
3. Dan Dan was born in Scotland but her parents come from China. Dan Dan went to a dance class. She found she was the only Chinese child in that class.
  - How Chinese would Dan Dan feel?  
Very much Chinese                      Quite Chinese                      not at all Chinese
  - How Scottish would Dan Dan feel?  
Very much Scottish                      Quite Scottish                      not at all Scottish
  - How would she feel about herself at that time?  
Good      OK                      not good
4. Xiao Liang was born in Scotland but his parents come from China. Xiao Liang's father picked him up from school. His father spoke to him in English in front of his classmates.
  - How Chinese would Xiao Liang feel?  
Very much Chinese                      Quite Chinese                      not at all Chinese
  - How Scottish would Xiao Liang feel?  
Very much Scottish                      Quite Scottish                      not at all Scottish
  - How would he feel about himself at that time?  
Good      OK                      not good
5. Chang zhi was born in Scotland but his parents come from China. He invited his friend to his home and his mother cooked fish and chips for them.
  - How Chinese would Chang zhi feel?  
Very much Chinese                      Quite Chinese                      not at all Chinese
  - How Scottish would Chang zhi feel?  
Very much Scottish                      Quite Scottish                      not at all Scottish
  - How would she feel about herself at that time?  
Good      OK                      not good

6. Chen Yan was born in Scotland but her parents come from China. Her mother encourages her to speak Mandarin/Cantonese at home.
- How Chinese would Chen Yan feel?  
Very much Chinese                      Quite Chinese                      not at all Chinese
  - How Scottish would Chen Yan feel?  
Very much Scottish                      Quite Scottish                      not at all Scottish
  - How would she feel about herself at that time?  
Good              OK                      not good
7. Han Dian was born in Scotland but his parents come from China. Han Dian was invited by his Scottish friends to go to Christmas Party together.
- How Chinese would Han Dian feel?  
Very much Chinese                      Quite Chinese                      not at all Chinese
  - How Scottish would Han Dian feel?  
Very much Scottish                      Quite Scottish                      not at all Scottish
  - How would he feel about himself at that time?  
Good              OK                      not good
8. Yu Hao was born in Scotland but his parents come from China. Yu Hao's mother picked him up from School and spoke Chinese to him in front of his classmates.
- How Chinese would Yu Hao feel?  
Very much Chinese                      Quite Chinese                      not at all Chinese
  - How Scottish would Yu Hao feel?  
Very much Scottish                      Quite Scottish                      not at all Scottish
  - How would he feel about himself at that time?  
Good              OK                      not good
9. Zhao Chen was born in Scotland but his parents come from China. His mother encourages him to speak English at home.
- How Chinese would Zhao Chen feel?  
Very much Chinese                      Quite Chinese                      not at all Chinese
  - How Scottish would Zhao Chen feel?  
Very much Scottish                      Quite Scottish                      not at all Scottish
  - How would he feel about himself at that time?  
Good              OK                      not good
10. Yi Qian was born in Scotland but his parents come from China. Yi Qian went to a swimming class and he found half of the children were Chinese.
- How Chinese would Yi Qian feel?  
Very much Chinese                      Quite Chinese                      not at all Chinese
  - How Scottish would Yi Qian feel?  
Very much Scottish                      Quite Scottish                      not at all Scottish
  - How would he feel about himself at that time?  
Good              OK                      not good

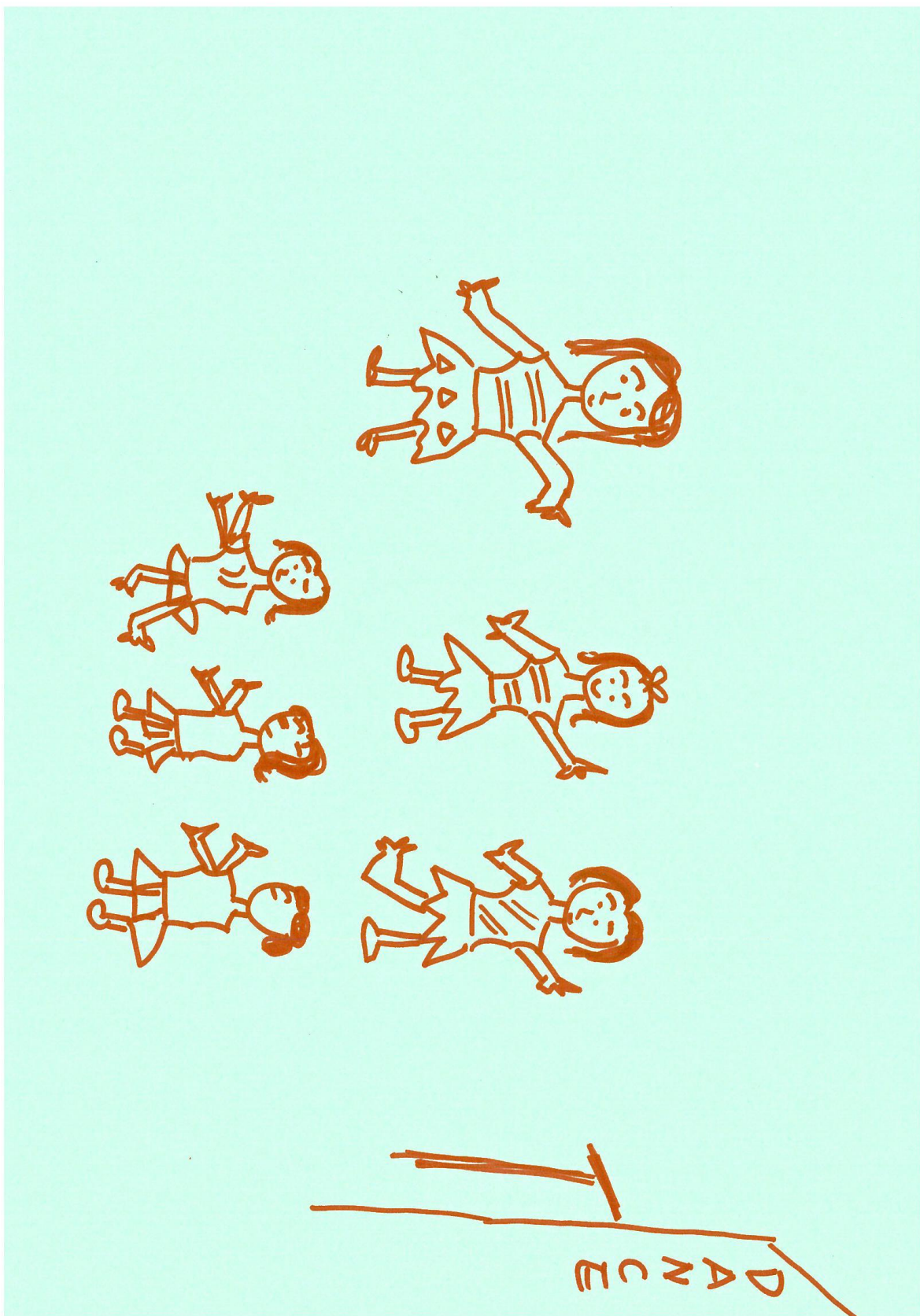


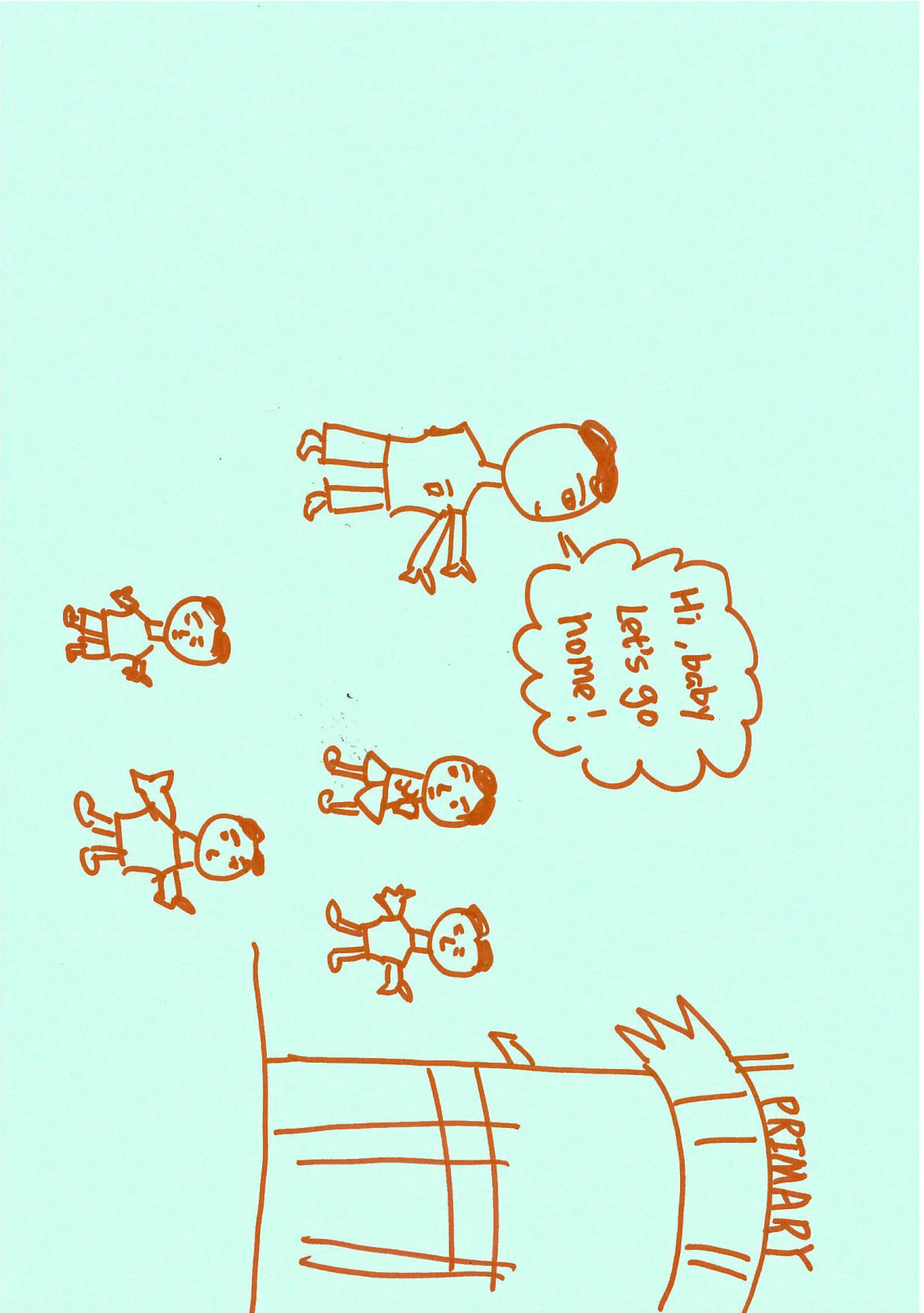
F2 Pictures used in Identity Vignettes (matched to the order of vignette questions)



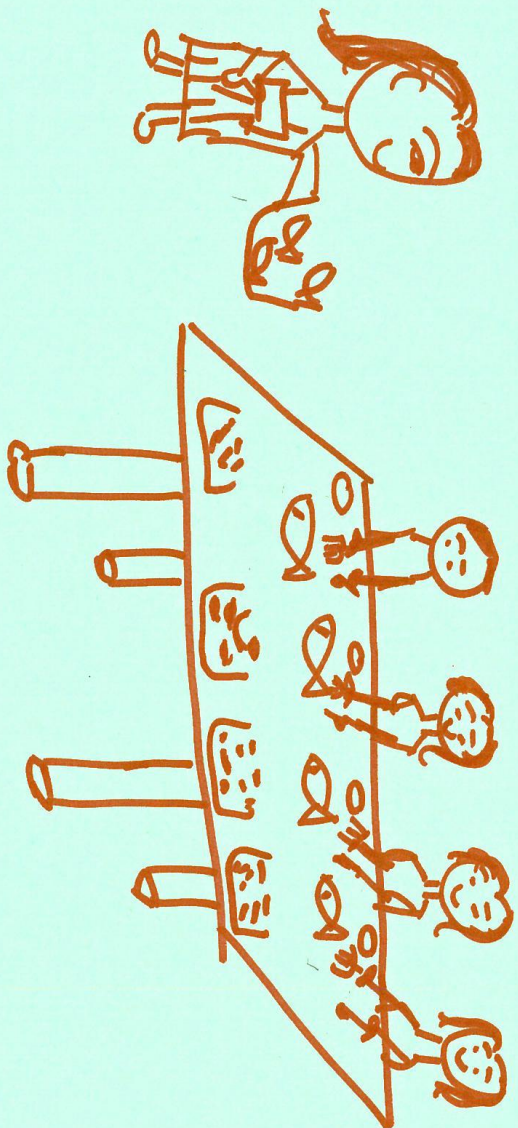


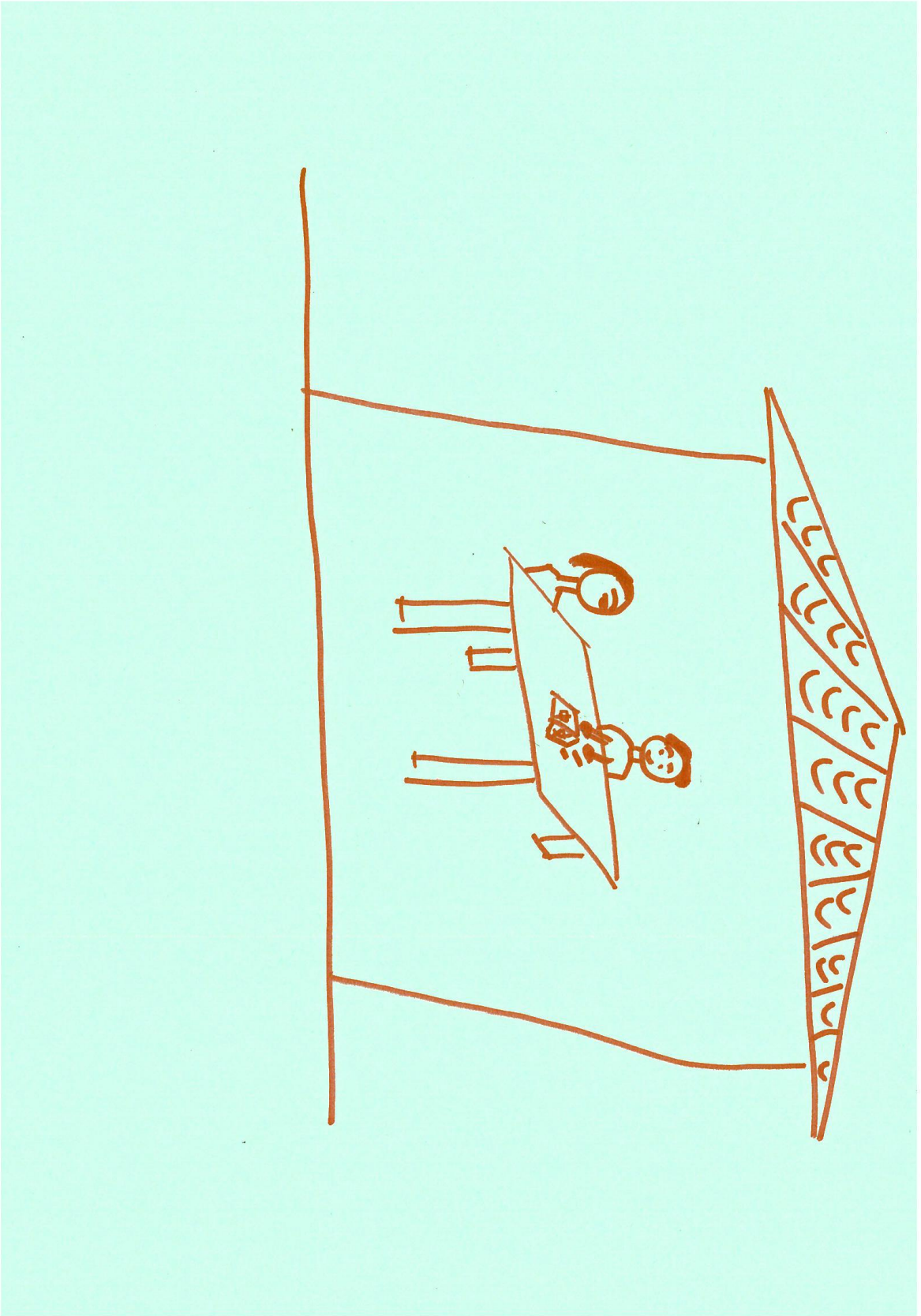






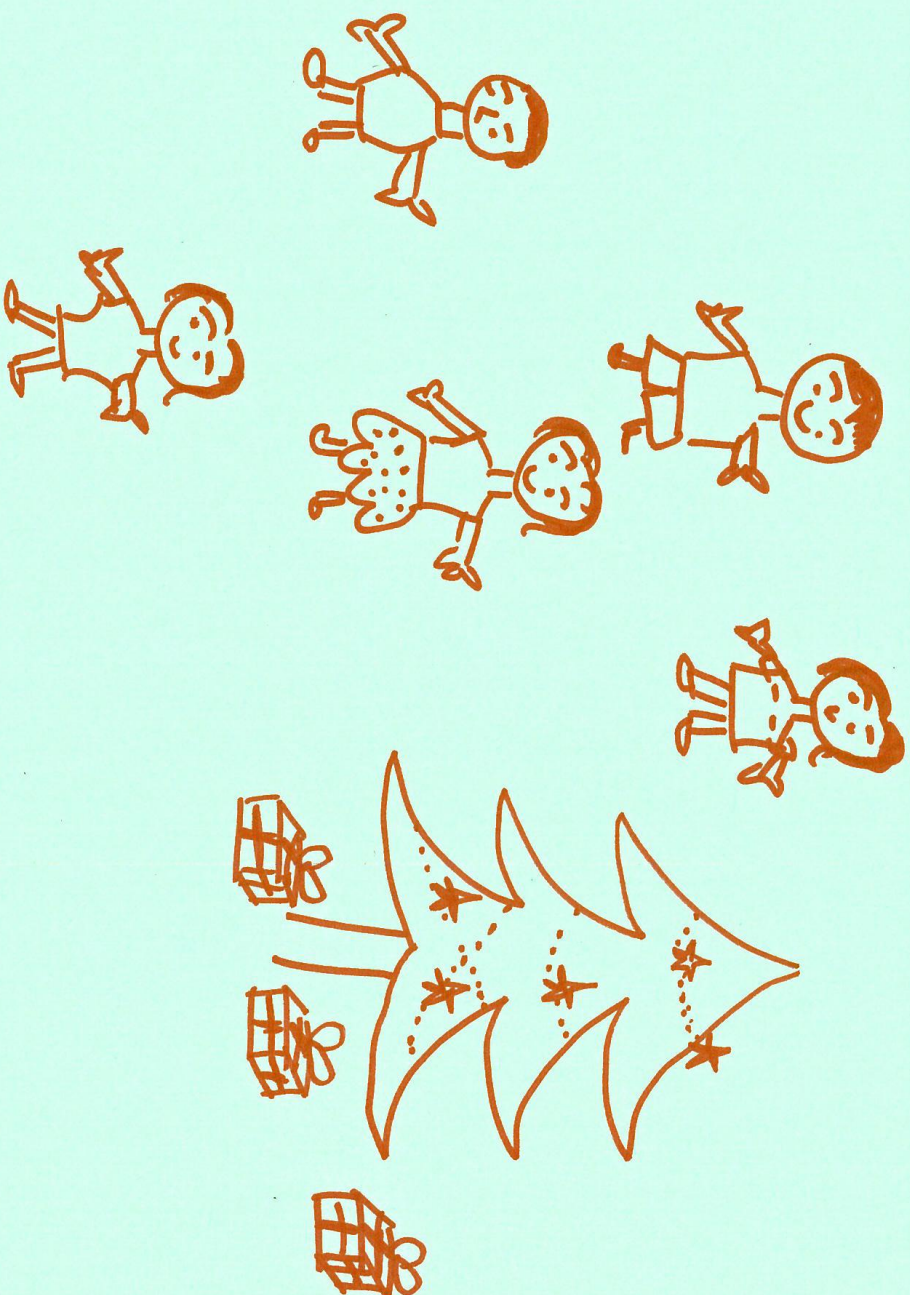


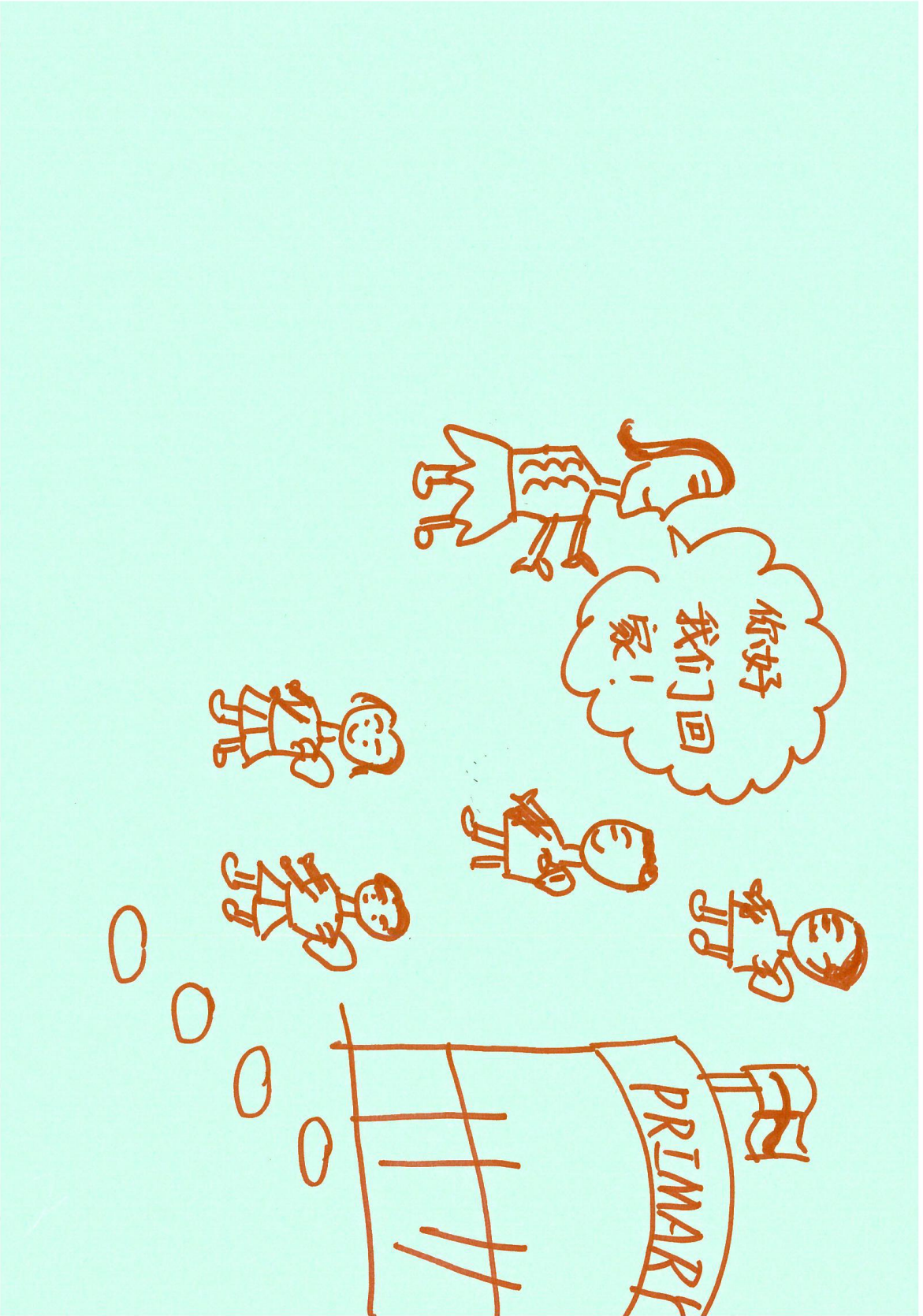




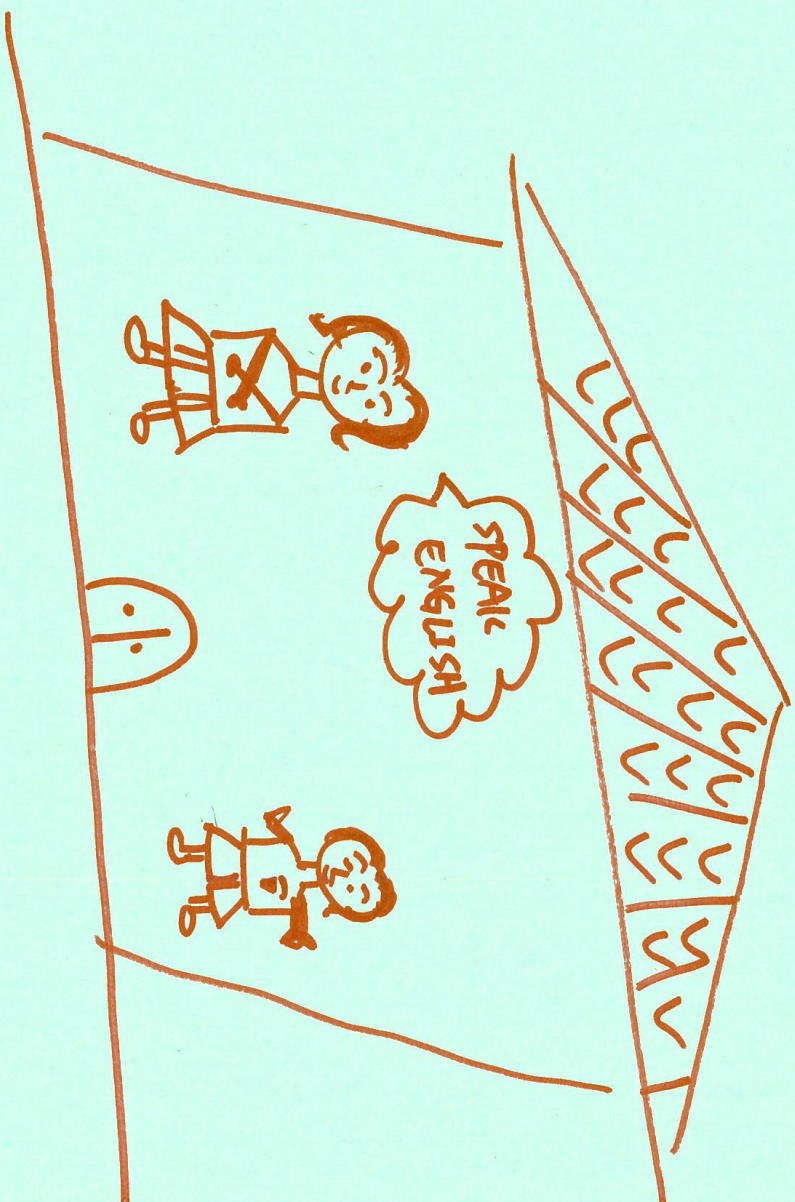


MERRY  
X-mas  
PARTY

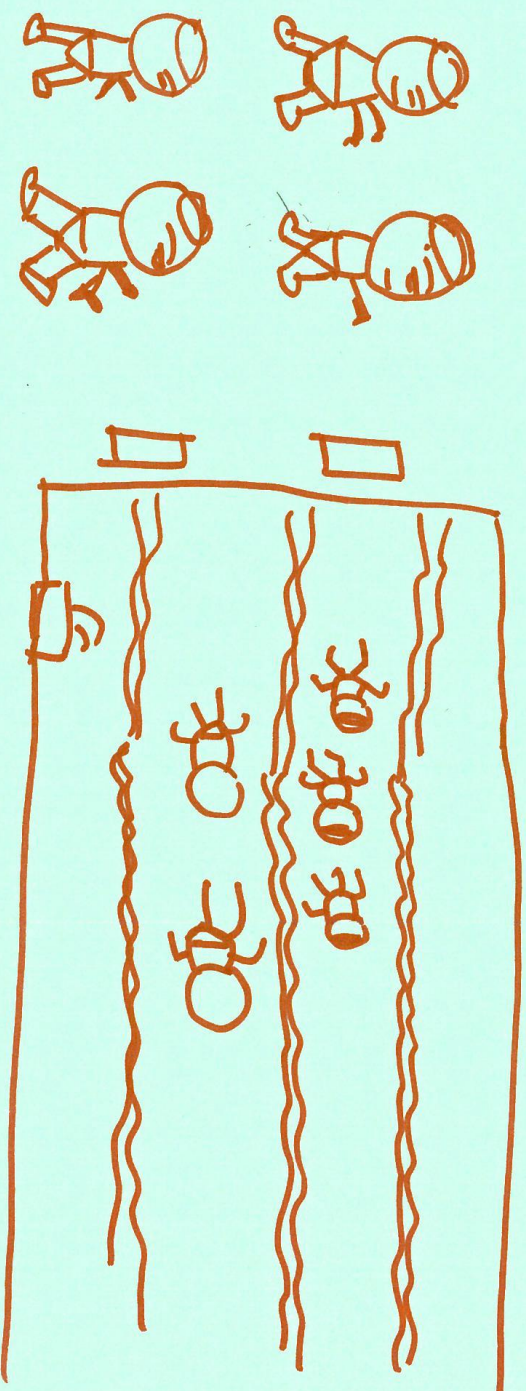








# Swimming Pool







# **SOCIAL IDENTITY AND SELF ESTEEM OF CHINESE, BRITISH BORN CHINESE AND BRITISH CHILDREN**

## **Parents Questionnaire**



Name:

Children's Name:

**February, 2012**

### General Ethnicity Questionnaire-Chinese Version

Please use the following scale to indicate how much do you agree with the following statements. Circle your response.

1. I am raising my children in a way that is Chinese.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

2. When my children are growing up, I expose him/ her to Chinese culture.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

3. Now, he/she is exposed to Chinese culture.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

4. My children are embarrassed/ ashamed of Chinese culture.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

5. My children are proud of Chinese culture.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

6. Chinese culture has had a positive impact on my children's life.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

7. I believe that my children should read, write and speak Chinese.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

8. I have a strong belief that my children should have Chinese names only.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

9. I take my children to go to places where people are Chinese/ Scottish Chinese.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

10. I want my children are familiar with Chinese cultural practices and customs.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

11. I would prefer my family to live in a Chinese/ Chinese Scottish community.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Strongly Disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly Agree

12. My children listen to Chinese music.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5  
Strongly Disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly Agree

13. My children perform Chinese dance.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5  
Strongly Disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly Agree

14. My children engage in Chinese forms of recreation.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5  
Strongly Disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly Agree

15. My family celebrate Chinese holidays.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5  
Strongly Disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly Agree

16. At home, we eat Chinese food.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5  
Strongly Disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly Agree

17. At restaurant, we eat Chinese food.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5  
Strongly Disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly Agree

18. My children's friends are Chinese/ Chinese Scottish.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5  
Strongly Disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly Agree

19. My children wish to be accepted by Chinese/ Chinese Scottish.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5  
Strongly Disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly Agree

20. Overall, my children are Chinese.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5  
Strongly Disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly Agree

Please use the following scale to answer the following questions. Circle your response.

21. How much do your children speak Chinese *at home*?

5                      4                      3                      2                      1  
Very much            Much    Somewhat    A little    Not at all

22. How much do your children speak Chinese *at school*?

5                      4                      3                      2                      1  
Very much            Much    Somewhat    A little    Not at all

23. How much do your children speak Chinese *with friends*?

5                      4                      3                      2                      1

Very much	Much	Somewhat	A little	Not at all
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24. How much do your children view, read, or listen to Chinese *on TV*?

5	4	3	2	1
Very much	Much	Somewhat	A little	Not at all

25. How much do your children view, read, or listen to Chinese *in film*?

5	4	3	2	1
Very much	Much	Somewhat	A little	Not at all

26. How much do your children view, read, or listen to Chinese *in literature*?

5	4	3	2	1
Very much	Much	Somewhat	A little	Not at all

27. How fluently do your children *speak Chinese*?

5	4	3	2	1
Very much	Much	Somewhat	A little	Not at all

28. How fluently do your children *read Chinese*?

5	4	3	2	1
Very much	Much	Somewhat	A little	Not at all

29. How fluently do your children *write Chinese*?

5	4	3	2	1
Very much	Much	Somewhat	A little	Not at all

30. How fluently do your children *understand Chinese*?

5	4	3	2	1
Very much	Much	Somewhat	A little	Not at all

## General Ethnicity Questionnaire-Scottish Version

Please use the following scale to indicate how much do you agree with the following statements. Circle your response.

1. I am raising my children in a way that is Scottish.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

2. When my children are growing up, I expose him/ her to Scottish culture.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

3. Now, he/she is exposed to Scottish culture.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

4. My children are embarrassed/ ashamed of Scottish culture.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

5. My children are proud of Scottish culture.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

6. Scottish culture has had a positive impact on my children's life.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

7. I believe that my children should read, write and speak English.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

8. I have a strong belief that my children should have English names only.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

9. I take my children to go to places where people are Scottish.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

10. I want my children to be familiar with Scottish cultural practices and customs.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

11. I would prefer my family to live in a Scottish community.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

12. My children listen to Scottish music.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

13. My children perform Scottish dance.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

14. My children engage in Scottish forms of recreation.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

15. My family celebrate Scottish holidays.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

16. At home, we eat Scottish food.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

17. At restaurant, we eat Scottish food.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

18. My children's friends are Scottish.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

19. My children wish to be accepted by Scottish.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

20. Overall, my children are Scottish.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

Please use the following scale to answer the following questions. Circle your response.

5	4	3	2	1
Very much	Much	Somewhat	A little	Not at all

21. How much do your children speak English language *at home*?

5	4	3	2	1
Very much	Much	Somewhat	A little	Not at all

22. How much do your children speak English *at school*?

5	4	3	2	1
Very much	Much	Somewhat	A little	Not at all

23. How much do your children speak English *with friends*?

5	4	3	2	1
Very much	Much	Somewhat	A little	Not at all

24. How much do your children view, read, or listen to English *on TV*?

5	4	3	2	1
Very much	Much	Somewhat	A little	Not at all

25. How much do your children view, read, or listen to English *in film*?

5	4	3	2	1
Very much	Much	Somewhat	A little	Not at all

26. How much do your children view, read, or listen to English *in literature*?

5	4	3	2	1
Very much	Much	Somewhat	A little	Not at all

27. How fluently do your children *speak* English?

5	4	3	2	1
Very much	Much	Somewhat	A little	Not at all

28. How fluently do your children *read* English?

5	4	3	2	1
Very much	Much	Somewhat	A little	Not at all

29. How fluently do your children *write* English?

5	4	3	2	1
Very much	Much	Somewhat	A little	Not at all

30. How fluently do your children *understand* English?

5	4	3	2	1
Very much	Much	Somewhat	A little	Not at all

## **Background Interview Questions to Parents**

1. When did you migrate to the UK?
2. Why did you come to Scotland?
3. How many generations of your family have lived in the UK?
4. What is your and your partner's occupation?
5. In your working environment, what languages do you normally use?
6. How many children do you have?